The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

[EVERY person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of —— earnestly but respectfully request that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

THE RIGHT WORD AT LAST.

THE word is at last spoken in Congress; the right word. And Mr. Julian, of Indiana, carries the tongue that uttered it. The right word, *in the right way*, was never spoken there before. Congress and the country have heard the word. Many members of Congress may have done virtuously, but Mr. Julian excels them all. Here is his proposition:

Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds concurring), That the following article be submitted to the Legislatures of the several states, and when adopted by three-fourths of the states shall become a part of the constitution of the United States, and be known as article fifteenth of amendments to said constitution:

ARTICLE XV.

The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based upon citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally, *without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on race, color, or sex.*

General Grant says, "Let us have peace!" Never, General, as the Lord liveth, until this amendment to the constitution, or its equivalent, is the law of the land! P. P.

WHEN Maximin, the bloody tyrant of the Roman Empire, was before Aquileia with his vast army and powerful machines, and the inhabitants of that besieged town were in want of ropes to repair their military engines, the Aquileian matrons cut their long hair from their heads and handed it to their fighting husbands. A temple was afterwards built to Venus in honor of these patriotic women.

RELEASE OF GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

A CABLE dispatch from London on Saturday evening last announces the release of George Francis Train from the British Bastile in Dublin, the plaintiffs in the case against him having withdrawn the suits.

Mr. Train has issued writs against the Marquis of Abercorn, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for one hundred thousand dollars damages for false imprisonment, and against the Ebbw Vale Steel Company for twenty thousand dollars. Mr. Train is now on his way to New York.

THE PROSPECT.

THE prospect of "THE REVOLUTION" just now, is what we mean. We are receiving most encouraging lists of subscribers, and hope to commence the new year and our third volume under most auspicious circumstances. We again direct attention to our list of premiums for new subscribers, and hope the leisure of winter in the rural regions of the country, will be improved to the great advantage of all who undertake for us, and of "THE REVOLUTION," and the cause to which it is specially devoted.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WE have received the Call for a Convention to be held in Concord, N. H., on the 22d and 23d instant, signed by a hundred and twenty men and women of the state, many of them from among the most prominent and influential classes, of all callings and professions; and the occasion can hardly fail to be one of profound interest, and of great service to the enterprise. Lucy Stone is the only speaker we have heard of who is expected from abroad, though doubtless other able advocates of the cause will be in attendance.

RHODE ISLAND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

THE meeting last week in Providence was in numbers and ability, eminently successful. Mrs. Elizabeth Borden Chase, of Valley Falls, presided, and addresses were made by Col. Higginson, Paulina Wright Davis, Lucy Stone, Frederick Douglass, Mrs. O. F. Shepard, Rev. John Boyden, Dr. Mercy B. Jackson, S. S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster and others. A State Association was formed and officers were elected.

The following are a part of the resolutions considered and adopted:

Resolved, That the Constitutional Amendment just proposed by Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, extending suffrage to all men and women, meets with our hearty

approval as the only thorough and consistent basis of national reconstruction.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention and of the people of Rhode Island are due to Senator Anthony for his argument and vote for Woman Suffrage in the Senate of the United States, and also to Senator Sprague for writing an appeal to the people of the United States urging them to extend suffrage to women on equal terms with the men.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME INSTANCES OF THE FOLLY WHICH THE IGNORANCE OF WOMEN GENERATES; WITH CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON THE MORAL IMPROVEMENT THAT A REVOLUTION IN FEMALE MANNERS MIGHT NATURALLY BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE.

THERE are many follies, in some degree peculiar to women: sins against reason, of commission as well as of omission; but all flowing from ignorance or prejudice. I shall only point out such as appear to be injurious to their moral character. And in animadverting on them, I wish especially to prove, that the weakness of mind and body, which men have endeavored by various modes to perpetuate, prevents their discharging the peculiar duty of their sex: for when weakness of body will not permit them to suckle their children, and weakness of mind makes them spoil their tempers—is woman in a natural state?

SECTION I.

One glaring instance of the weakness which proceeds from ignorance, first claims attention, and calls for severe reproof.

In this metropolis a number of lurking leeches infamously gain a subsistence by practicing on the credulity of women, pretending to cast nativities, to use the technical word; and many females, who, proud of their rank and fortune, look down on the vulgar with sovereign contempt, show, by this credulity, that the distinction is arbitrary, and that they have not sufficiently cultivated their minds to rise above vulgar prejudices. Women, because they have not been led to consider the knowledge of their duty as the one thing necessary to know; or, to live in the present moment by the discharge of it, are very anxious to peep into futurity, to learn what they have to expect to render life interesting, and to break the vacuum of ignorance.

I must be allowed to expostulate seriously with the ladies who follow these idle inventions; for ladies, mistresses of families, are not ashamed to drive in their own carriages to the door of the cunning man. And if any of them should peruse this work, I entreat them to answer to their own hearts the following questions, not forgetting that they are in the presence of God.

Do you believe that there is but one God, and that he is powerful, wise and good?

Do you believe that all things were created by him, and that all beings are dependent on him?

Do you rely on his wisdom, so conspicuous in his works, and in your own frame, and are you convinced that he has ordered all things which do not come under the cognizance of your senses, in the same perfect harmony, to fulfil his designs?

Do you acknowledge that the power of looking into futurity and seeing things that are not, as if they were, is an attribute of the Creator? And should he, by an impression on the minds of his creatures, think fit to impart to them some event hid in the shades of time, yet unborn, to whom would the secret be revealed by immediate inspiration? The opinion of ages will answer this question—to reverend old men, to people distinguished for eminent piety.

The oracles of old were thus delivered by priests dedicated to the service of the God who was supposed to inspire them. The glare of the worldly pomp which surrounded these impostors, and the respect paid to them by artful politicians, who knew how to avail themselves of this useful engine to bend the necks of the strong under the dominion of the cunning, spread a sacred mysterious veil of sanctity over their lies and abominations.

Impressed by such solemn devotional parade, a Greek or a Roman lady might be excused, if she inquired of the oracle, when she was anxious to pry into futurity, or inquire about some dubious event: and her inquiries, however contrary to reason, could not be reckoned impious. But can the professors of Christianity ward off that imputation? Can a Christian suppose that the favorites of the most High, the highly favored, would be obliged to lurk in disguise, and practice the most dishonest tricks to cheat silly women out of the money which the poor cry for in vain?

Say not that such questions are an insult to common sense, for it is your own conduct, O, ye foolish women! which throws an odium on your sex! And these reflections should make you shudder at your thoughtlessness, and irrational devotion, for I do not suppose that all of you laid aside your religion, such as it is, when you entered those mysterious dwellings. Yet, as I have throughout supposed myself talking to ignorant women, for ignorant ye are in the most emphatical sense of the word, it would be absurd to reason with you on the egregious folly of desiring to know what the Supreme Wisdom has concealed.

Probably you would not understand me, were I to attempt to show that it would be absolutely inconsistent with the grand purpose of life, that of rendering human creatures wise and virtuous: and that, were it sanctioned by God, it would disturb the order established in creation; and if it be not sanctioned by God, do you expect to hear truth? Can events be foretold, events which have not yet assumed a body to become subject to mortal inspection, can they be foreseen by a vicious worldling, who pampers his appetites by preying on the foolish ones?

Perhaps, however, you devoutly believe in the devil, and imagine, to shift the question, that he may assist his votaries? but if really respecting the power of such a being, an enemy to goodness and to God, can you go to church after having been under such an obligation to him?

From these delusions to those still more fashionable deceptions, practiced by the whole tribe of magnetizers, the transition is very natural. With respect to them, it is equally proper to ask women a few questions.

Do you know anything of the construction of the human frame? If not, it is proper that you should be told, what every child ought to know, that when its admirable economy has been disturbed by intemperance or indolence, I speak not of violent disorders, but of chronic diseases, it must be brought into a healthy state again by slow degrees, and if the functions of life have not been materially injured, regimen, another word for temperance, air, exercise, and a few medicines prescribed by persons who have studied the human body, are the only human means, yet discovered, of recovering that inestimable blessing, health, that will bear investigation.

Do you then believe that these magnetizers, who, by hocus pocus tricks, pretend to work a miracle, are delegated by God, or assisted by the solver of all this kind of difficulties—the devil.

Do they, when they put to flight, as it is said, disorders that have baffled the powers of medicine, work in conformity to the light of reason? Or do they effect these wonderful cures by supernatural aid?

By a communication, an adept may answer, with the world of spirits. A noble privilege, it must be allowed. Some of the ancients mention familiar demons who guarded them from danger, by kindly intimating (we cannot guess in what manner), when any danger was nigh; or pointed out what they ought to undertake. Yet the men who laid claim to this privilege, out of the order of nature, insisted, that it was the reward or consequence of superior temperance and piety. But the present workers of wonders are not raised above their fellows by superior temperance or sanctity. They do not cure for the love of God, but money. These are the priests of quackery, though it be true they have not the convenient expedient of selling masses for souls in purgatory, nor churches, where they can display crutches, and models of limbs made sound by a touch or a word.

I am not conversant with the technical terms, nor initiated into the arcana, therefore I may speak improperly; but it is clear, that men who will not conform to the law of reason, and earn a subsistence in an honest way, by degrees, are very fortunate in becoming acquainted with such obliging spirits. We cannot, indeed, give them credit for either great sagacity or goodness, else they would have chosen more noble instruments, when they wished to show themselves the benevolent friends of man.

It is, however, little short of blasphemy to pretend to such power.

From the whole tenor of the dispensations of Providence, it appears evident to sober reason, that certain vices produce certain effects: and can any one so grossly insult the wisdom of God as to suppose that a miracle will be allowed to disturb his general laws, to restore to health the intemperate and vicious, merely to enable them to pursue the same course with impunity? Be whole, and sin no more, said Jesus. And are greater miracles to be performed by those who do not follow his footsteps, who healed the body to reach the mind?

The mentioning of the name of Christ after such vile impostors may displease some of my readers—I respect their warmth; but let them not forget that the followers of these delusions bear his name, and profess to be the disciples of him, who said, by their works we should know who were the children of God, or the servants of sin. I allow that it is easier to touch the body of a saint, or to be magetized, than to restrain our appetites or govern our passions; but health of body or mind can only be recovered by these means, or we make the Supreme Judge partial and revengeful.

Is he a man, that he should change, or punish out of resentment? He—the common father, wounds but to heal, says reason, and our irregularities producing certain consequences, we are forcibly shown the nature of vice; that thus learning to know good from evil, by experience

we may hate one and love the other, in proportion to the wisdom which we attain. The poison contains the antidote; and we either reform our evil habits, and cease to sin against our own bodies, to use the forcible language of Scripture, or a premature death, the punishment of sin, snaps the thread of life.

Here an awful stop is put to our inquiries. But why should I conceal my sentiments? Considering the attributes of God, I believe, that whatever punishment may follow, will tend, like the anguish of disease, to show the malignity of vice, for the purpose of reformation. Positive punishment appears so contrary to the nature of God, discoverable in all his works, and in our own reason, that I could sooner believe that the Deity paid no attention to the conduct of men, than that he punished without the benevolent design of reforming.

To suppose only, that an all-wise and powerful Being, as good as he is great, shall create a being, foreseeing that after fifty or sixty years of feverish existence, it would be plunged into never-ending woe—is blasphemy. On what will the worm feed that is never to die? On folly, on ignorance, say ye—I should blush indignantly at drawing the natural conclusion, could I insert it, and wish to withdraw myself from the wing of my God! On such a supposition, I speak with reverence, he would be a consuming fire. We should wish, though vainly, to fly from his presence when fear absorbed love, and darkness involved all his counsels.

I know that many devout people boast of submitting to the will of God blindly, as to an arbitrary sceptre or rod, on the same principle as the Indians worship the devil. In other words, like people in the common concerns of life, they do homage to power, and cringe under the foot that can crush them. Rational religion, on the contrary, is a submission to the will of a being so perfectly wise, that all he wills must be directed by the proper motive—must be reasonable.

And, if thus we respect God, can we give credit to the mysterious insinuations which insult his laws? Can we believe, though it should stare us in the face, that he would work a miracle to authorize confusion by sanctioning an error? Yet we must either allow these impious conclusions, or treat with contempt every promise to restore health to a diseased body by supernatural means, or to foretell the incidents that can only be foreseen by God.

(*To be Continued.*)

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

The *Herald of Health* has an article on Woman's Suffrage, by Mrs. Horace Mann, from which the following is extracted:

Those of us who have sons, feel the importance of being well versed in the theory of our government, that from earliest youth, while still plastic in our hands, they may be taught to discriminate between law, as planted in the heart by God, and *the laws* that are made by men, and therefore subject to the imperfection that attends all human acts; to discriminate, in short, between the "Higher Law" and the "Lower Law," whose "irrepressible conflict" on one subject, still shakes us to the centre, and will shake the world till the higher takes the place of the lower law in all things. In this country, education falls so much into the hands of woman, not entirely "because her work is cheaper," as is too often said, but because there is freedom enough here to suffer things of importance, at least, to verge toward their fitting solution, however far we still may be from that ideal condition in which they will actually find it. Education is so far put into woman's hands, that its quality for all must depend much upon the quality of their culture. Mind is of no sex, but deep, systematic culture has hitherto been chiefly in the physically stronger sex. Men of even ordinary capacity and education are in the habit of assuming superiority over women of far more penetrating intellect than their own, and even such women are apt to yield to it, partly because man's practical business habits give him a decided advantage in the common concerns of life, and partly from the habit of ages. But what is simply old is not necessarily right, or entitled even to the epithet venerable, taken in the highest sense of that word. A thing may be stereotyped but not *hallowed* by time, and most of the legendary maxims upon this now vexed subject are as shallow as they are old. They took their rise in times which form no parallel to ours, and therefore are not applicable to ours. The children of a republic that is expected to last, should be taught the doctrine of the rights of all, the equality of privileges of all, limited only by the capacity to use them. It demoralizes them to hear the expression "women cannot judge of politics or of public affairs." It blunts their respect and sensibility to the fine moral discriminations they might otherwise learn to exercise from those who help them from their childhood "to hunt truth into corners," and who teach them history, than which no branch of instruction needs deeper culture. We see the young ladies who teach in our high schools, reading literature with their mixed classes of boys and girls, so that young men and maidens get their first ideas of things from this source. Some of the illustrations and explanations given are quite good, but the life and modes of thought of a nation are often embodied in the work of a literary genius, and how can it be understood by those who do not know that politics form much of the basis of these modes of thought? We do know of, and sometimes see philosophical minds in women who have incidentally enjoyed advantages in this direction of culture, and we are tempted to exclaim, as a distinguished lawyer once exclaimed, "*that* woman ought to have studied law, the best education the world can give for the purpose of investigating truth." Society, through its highest members, is fast coming to the conclusion that every man should study law, whatever else he may conclude upon as his profession, whether science, commerce, or literature, and the same reasons make it desirable that woman should study it, not with the view of being an advocate at the bar, but for the cultivation of her judgment. The same quality of brain is requisite to rule a kingdom and to rule a family. Rights are to be adjusted, claims recognized, evidence weighed, impartiality secured. Society is surely "out of joint." Perhaps the evils of the body politic are partly due to the want of the feminine element in it, which the world has not yet had the benefit of, except in the case of some queens whose action has been beneficial or otherwise, according to their quality of character and intellectual acumen. They have surely not shown any want of power or energy when left to their irresponsible action. When swayed too much by their affections (a fault to which they are, perhaps, more liable than their brethren), the affections must have been faulty; noble affections would have instigated them to noble acts. Kings and other rulers have done right or wrong according to their characters, and not simply because they were men. Let women take an intelligent part in political discussions, and feel that they have a sphere of usefulness consequent upon what they learn from comprehending so vast an interest as the theory of society, and there will be enough of them cultivated by the pursuit to take away the reproach of shallowness from the sex. When women read the criticisms made upon the inane lives of many of their sex, they may well blush that the majority deserve such insulting descriptions.

A minor objection to the voting of women is the publicity it involves. Publicity is not pleasant to a womanly woman, but I have sufficient reliance upon the native chivalry of men, even of ordinary culture, to believe that the way would be made smooth, if this duty should be recognized as such, so that woman, if she desires it, could have a quiet place to vote in, where "man dare not intrude." At any rate, she would not be more subjected to the public gaze by walking to the polls and quietly depositing her vote, than she is at present on the public promenade, which she seeks in order to display her beauty and her dress to gentlemen, who come there for the express purpose of displaying their own beauty and dress, as well as to admire hers. Let any one go to the post office at hours when it is frequented by business men, and he will not always meet refined women there, shielded by the panoply of their own discretion and good manners, but the gay and frivolous who go to see and be seen, and who had better not be there for that reason. Where display is not the motive, but duty calls women before the public, respect will follow her footsteps. Marriage can never be what heaven designed it to be, till the wife is free from every bond but that of affection, and while marriage is in any sense a bondage, man is in a position of irresponsible power, which God has vouchsafed to no man. That he sometimes occupies that position for a time, does not invalidate the testimony that pronounces it not God-given. God permits many things temporarily for man's education that are but the marring of his own universal plan, which is justified by the consequences of the temporary wrong. "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you" is the great law of human existence, dating back to primeval man, and every departure from that great principle has brought, and must ever bring, its own inevitable retribution.

I would have woman vote, because there are many women who have no other protectors for themselves or for their children than themselves; and because some social interests ought to be legally in her care as well as in that of men. Public as well as private charity, education, the morals of the community, should be more directly under her authoritative regulation. Women take these responsibilities upon themselves sometimes, and are not interfered with to a certain extent, but they have not the benefit of the law, or the advantage it would give them in active operations against evil-doers; nor can they hold property in their own right, which they may wish and need to have incorporated. Finally, is there any right but that of might, that says women shall not vote? As society progresses, the necessity for it to her welfare shows itself more and more, till the best minds recognize it.

Hallam says that at the consecration of Philip of France, Maud, Countess of Artois, held the crown over his head among the other peers.

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY TO US.

BRICK POMEROY ON THE SITUATION.

MORRISON, Ill., Nov. 14, 1868.

Revolution-ARY SUSAN: You publish rather a good newspaper. I like it. I like anything a woman does, if she does it well. I wish more of the women of the United States would publish newspapers, or write for them—not as women generally write, little soft, nonsensical letters about their canary birds; about fashions; about Grecian bends, frills, ring'ets, stringlets, frizzes, frizlets laces and lattice-work generally. But I wish they would write good, plain, sensible, home-like chapters for men and women to read, and then I wish men and women would profit by them. For do you know, Susan, I think women can do much more for the benefit of the country, and for the bettering of the condition of women than they do, if they would only work in the right way.

I was reading your paper of Oct. 29th this afternoon, which I found at the house of a friend on the prairies of Western Illinois, and as you speak of me in terms not altogether unfavorable, I thought I would write you this letter. I am not a Woman's Rights man, nor much of a woman's man either, for that matter. And yet I love to look upon a handsome woman, providing she be good. That is, I am not a Woman's Rights man as you and Elizabeth and some others argue from your standpoints; but I am a sincere advocate for the rights of woman, for the rights of all persons who have hearts and homes and destinies—and each one of us has a destiny. Nor do I hate the negro, that down-trodden race, as you hint in the paper I have just been reading. I think much more of the black man than do the republicans of the land, for I would not use the poor colored victim of American Christianity for the purpose of elevating myself or any party into power, that a few bad men might steal themselves rich at the expense of the people. I would give the blacks homes; I would give them protection for their earnings; I would give them work and pay for the same; I would give them a chance to labor and to make more for and of themselves than they ever can make in this country while it is in republican hands, and while they are the victims of politicians as they always will be. I would *not* give them the right to vote, for I think, honestly and earnestly, that the laws made by the white people are poor enough, and that the black people are not so well qualified for making laws as are the white ones. And farther, it is my honest opinion that there are plenty enough voters now in the country; by this I mean, there are enough voters, if not too many, who have the right to the ballot-box, without understanding the first principles of government, or without knowing or caring for whom or what they vote.

If there were fewer voters and more intelligence,—if it was the law of the land that no man should vote who would sell his vote,—if it was the law of the land that no man should be allowed to deposit a ballot in the box who would do so for a *price* or till he knew for what he was voting, the country would be better governed than it is now, and we should all of us be more prosperous, happy and contented. Before giving the right of suffrage to black men, I would give it to the women of the land who have no husbands, and who pay taxes. I am not quite sure whether I should be willing for a wife, a mother, a sister or a lady friend of mine to mix in the dirty pool of politics, which since so many ministers of religion, and so many professors of Christianity have dabbled therein, has become excessively filthy. But I should prefer them to have the right given them before the privilege was extended to the negroes of the south, who know nothing of government, of us, or themselves.

I am a Temperance man. I have in La Crosse, Wis., the handsomest printing office in the world, wherein is not employed one person in any capacity who uses intoxicating liquors as a beverage. I have an Office in the City of New York, almost within speaking distance of yours, where I am employing a hundred and more persons in various capacities incidental to the publication of a daily and weekly newspaper, and not one person in that office finds employment who uses liquor as a beverage, that is, if I am knowing to the circumstance, for the orders there are most peremptory to the effect that none but Temperance men shall be employed. I am no stickler for trifles, nor am I a prohibitionist, nor a man who would make laws to deprive any man or woman of their rights. If a man wishes to be a drunkard; if he wishes to spend his money for that which does him no good; if he wishes to ruin his health and reputation merely that he may acquire the name of being a "bully good fellow" and in time becoming a successful "Bummer," that is his look out and not mine. But such a person is not the one I wish to help me. Nor is he the one on whom I might place responsibility, for when "wine is in, wit is out." And while there are so many temperate and temperance persons in the land, striving earnestly to make themselves homes by honest labor, I shall prefer helping those in preference to the ones who would spend their earnings, not for the beautifying of their homes, but for the poisoning of their bodies and destruction of their appetites.

I wish you would make your paper a *home newspaper*. Make it more the friend of the women of America than it now is. I wish you would see if you cannot write articles, and I think you can, Susan, impressing upon the wives, mothers and sisters; upon the women, young and old, of America, the necessity of making home beautiful and attractive. Tell them to see if they cannot, by a kind word or loving smile, some little act of kindness or attention, prevail upon the husband, lover, brother or father, as the case may be, to remain at home one more night in the week than they do. Encourage the beautiful, the good, and that which brings happiness. Let politics alone for those who are baser and better adapted for that business than are women. Keep away from the polls. Let the ballot-boxes be surrounded by men, for to go there to wrangle and grovel, or indulge in perpetual strife to gain that which brings you no benefit, is not exactly the mission woman is expected to fill here upon earth.

Do see if you cannot educate the women of America to let fashions and foolishness alone; see if you cannot make them more home-bodies; give them more of a taste for biscuit; more of a desire to learn how to make biscuit than to double themselves up with a green-apple twist into a Grecian bend. See if you cannot cultivate among your sex more of a desire to visit the parlor, open its doors and windows, to make it pleasant for their home ones, than to be continually dressing for the opera. Try for a little while, Susan, and see if you cannot impress upon the minds of women who read "THE REVOLUTION" and those who do not, that woman would do more to ensure general happiness if she would try and help her husband accumulate property and make a home. Tell them, Susan, that it is all foolishness for a woman to spend on her back, in one month, more than her husband can earn in a year. I know many a good fellow who has gone to the poorhouse, to the gambling house, or to that *red-hot* land, from whence it is hard returning, according to Scriptural theory, for the reason that he has had a most extravagant wife, whose sole aim seemed to be to squander all he earned and to appear on the streets of New York, or other cities or villages, as the case may be, every day, or at least every week, with a new dress, while her husband, poor man! was beset by the sheriff and working and wondering how he would manage to make enough to pay his expenses. Susan, try and see if you cannot preach a little economy into the women. There is enough money squandered in New York on laces, silks and satins, fancy gaiters, notched and crocheted crinoline, and all sorts of fancy finery that I cannot call by name, to give every poor boy and girl in New York food, clothes and an education. There is enough money spent every year in the great city where your paper and my paper are published, enough money spent foolishly by the women to make everybody in New York happy and place them beyond want. If you will try and instil economy into the minds of the wives and mothers, daughters and sisters of the land, I will do the best I can in behalf of temperance and morality, sobriety and business. If you will tell the women to take care of the money their husbands earn by hard labor, either mentally or bodily; if you will tell them to use the money which their husbands bring, to beautify home, make it attractive, furnish little articles to make home pleasant that the husbands may find their homes as attractive as other places, then I will do all I can toward educating the men to take their money home to their wives and not squander their earnings every day, every night, or every Saturday night in places of dissipation, or in places where rum as a beverage is sold.

There are some things I like very much. Susan I like to see a train of cars much better than I like to see a dog-fight. I had rather see a fine horse than a pummeling scrape in front of some drinking house or gin-mill. I would rather see a neat tidy woman in calico, with a good honest face on her, an evidence of a good, kind, womanly heart within her, than to see sixteen daughters of bankrupt merchants parading Broadway as if doubled up by a six pound shot in the stomach, as they labor along under the excruciating delights of the Italian wriggle or the Grecian bend. I would rather see a beautiful home, no matter if it be humble, so be that it is paid for and occupied by honest working people, than to look upon any brown-stone palace of New York and to think that the fashion and foolishness therein too often are fitting people for the poor-house. I like to see a woman of sense and a man of sense. And, Susan, the one thing I will tell you, I know hundreds more men in the land who would be happier if their wives would give less attention to sewing societies, and to the manufacture of red-flannel shirts for nigger babies in Hottentotdom; who would be more prosperous if their wives would attend to home duties insted of gadding about the streets inventing or retailing slanders and bothering their heads about polls, or election and the ballot-box, and political things. I know a great many men who would take more care of their earnings and work harder every day for wages, for the means to beautify their homes, if the women of the land would be less extravagant and would take care of the money earned and spend it for books pictures, newspapers, chairs, sofas, rugs, curtains and all sorts of pretty things to make home attractive, instead of long trails, jewelry, gew-gaws, steel-corset patent calves, gum-elastic suspenders, cork-screw ringlets, horse-tail frizzes, spiral doings for the chest, twenty-seven dollar hats, sixteen dollar gaiters, low-necked frocks, mammarial balm, three-story bustles, and all those fixings which spring from the fashion shops of the country. If you will try to make the women sensible, Susan, I will try to do what I can for the men. You teach the women economy and I will teach the men sobriety. You tell the women to be good and try and make good wives and mothers, and I will do what I can to have the men stay at home and not go bumming around days and nights, Sundays, rainy days, at all sorts of times to all sorts of places. Thus we shall be the means of doing much good in the world, and bringing round a *Revolution* which will be practical and beneficial. This is rather a long article, Susan, for your magazine, and I, do not expect you will give it insertion; but you will find it good. You may read it over, and if you like it, use it. If you don't like it, waft it gently into the waste-basket; but at all events don't forget to take the Grecian bend off the girls and put common-sense in the place of the aforesaid foreign article, and I will do all I can toward lessening the revenue from distilled spirits and against the spirits of damnation. And now, Susan, I have said my say, and sometime when we meet, if you have adopted any of the suggestions I have made, why perhaps we two shall be, not twain of one twain, meat of one meat, or flesh of one flesh, but better friends; for yours is the SUSAN, the ANTHONY and "THE REVOLUTION."

Thine for the Right,

"BRICK" POMEROY.

We are very glad Mr. Pomeroy likes "THE REVOLUTION," and we like many of his ideas in the above letter, and should be happy to discuss with him, from time to time, in "THE REVOLUTION," the grave problems of our political and social life to which he has referred. We think we can show him that we are already doing the great work of educating and elevating woman "in the right way."

Although women and negroes have not yet "meddled" with the ballot-box, we hear on all sides of its degraded condition and demoralizing influences. Now if "white males" have converted the sublime science of government into a "muddy pool," what assurance have we that, unaided and alone, they can ever extricate themselves from the pitfalls and quagmires into which they have fallen. Thus far they have utterly failed in the art of government, though they have tried it in every latitude and under every possible form; and yet, with amazing self-complacency, they ask the negroes and women to stand aside, and watch the progress of another magnificent failure on this western continent. We have grown too wise to be guilty of such folly.

We know too well that we are indissolubly bound together, and that when men degrade themselves and destroy the government, we go down in the general ruin. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. We see the ship of state on a stormy sea rapidly drifting towards the same dangerous shore, where all the nations of the past have foundered and gone down. We see them at the helm drunk with rum, selfishness, ambition; no law, no order, no disci-

pline on board; the crew even bribed not to do their duty; no life-boats for the multitude, who, cold, hungry and in rags, crowd the deck! wonder not, then, that in an hour like this, true women, with brave hearts, clear heads and sturdy hands should try to seize the helm, and, obedient to eternal principle, to chart and compass, change the dangerous course, and ride out the storm in safety.

Oh! what is "home," without a country? What's "home," in ignorance, poverty and debauchery? What's "home," when the chief priest who ministers there is dead to everything but his own passions, appetites and ambition? There is no magic in kind words and smiles, for tobacco-chewers, drunkards and disappointed politicians. It is vain to talk of making "homes" charming until we clear up the great wilderness of life where so many of our fairest sons and daughters have stumbled and gone down. It is vain we drape the spotless curtain, spread the clean meal and decorate with flowers, wash the little rosy faces and smooth the golden ringlets down; our smiles are smiles of sadness so long as fathers, husbands, sons are moulded in the outer world, while over its highways, honesty, purity, virtue, and love, may not in safety walk.

Is it nothing to the gardener where his rare plants are to bloom, whether bathed in sunshine and dew, or bleached in dampness and shade? Has a mother no interest in the institutions under which her sons are to live or perish? Have we nothing at stake, in this hazardous game of grab, called civilized life? Can she smile, and be at ease, knowing the terrible temptations to falsehood, bribery, corruption, that must beset her sons in every department of commerce and government. No, no, Mr. Pomeroy; while men have forfeited all right to ask women and negroes to trust them for the wise, faithful, and equal administration of the government. We have an idea that we shall have better laws in the state, the church and the home, when we have the man and woman idea blended everywhere together. We have lived thus far under a dynasty of force, which is the male element, hence war, violence, discord, debauchery. From this we can only be redeemed by the recognition and restoration of the love element, which is woman; for so long as woman is under man's heel all things are inverted; but when she is exalted, made to feel her dignity and responsibility as mother, educator of the race, then will all those follies and vices of which thinking men justly complain be swallowed up in the majesty of the higher position.

If you shut a woman up within four walls and make the pleasing of man the only object of her life, she will, of course, become narrow, foolish and frivolous; to be otherwise she must have all the variety, discipline, and expanse of thought and training man has. You can make women wise only by changing the conditions of their lives. Give them something better to do and think about, and they will abandon the Grecian bend and the Italian wriggle; but if you make it the business of their lives to attract men, this can only be done by a succession of new modes and manners. So long as there is a demand for weak-minded women, there will be a plentiful supply. And so long as the mass of men are the unthinking, unreasoning crowd they are today, the demand for fools and finery will continue.

The present type of woman is formed wholly in the man idea. Sensible women, here and there, all through the generations, have protested against the condition of toy or drudge, and have fought their way, inch by inch, toward social and political equality now soon to be realized.

On the temperance question, Mr. Pomeroy is sound as far as he goes. But we think his moral responsibility extends farther than his own office. When government licenses men to sell rum, it should place some safeguards round its victims. Suppose, sir, your beautiful daughter were married to a drunkard, who came home every night to drag her about the floor by the hair and kick and pummel her trembling children, would you not feel that you had something to do in regulating this infernal traffic? Multitudes of lovely women are dragging out their weary lives in such bondage today; and we who publish newspapers have a duty in moulding a right public sentiment on all these questions. You would sacredly guard the individual rights of the rumseller and drunkard, but what of the unhappy women who weep at their hearthstones, while, by the laws that "white men" have made for them, they cannot be divorced in this state, from such monstrous relations! What of the unhappy children born of such fathers, whose sins are visited upon them to the third and fourth generation? When we look at the asylums for the idiots, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the insane, the inebriates, the houses of refuge, the jails, the prisons, all thinking men and women must see the need of some new governmental regulations in the primal relations of the sexes, and the necessity of such legislation as shall emancipate women from all fear and dependence on man. "Give a man," says Alexander Hamilton, "a right over my subsistence, and he has a right over my whole moral being."

On the question of suffrage, too, we think Mr. Pomeroy is not exactly right, though much nearer right than our most radical politicians who now propose such an amendment of the Constitution as shall secure "manhood suffrage."

If this nation is not ready to admit its virtuous, educated, tax-paying women to the polls, then we say the fewer men the better. There is already too much of the masculine element, everywhere crushing out the feminine, which is the moral, the spiritual, the love power, thus subordinating the faith, the divinity, the poetry, the affections and sentiments of life, all to a cold materialism, to ambition, to aggrandizement and conquest.

But when Mr. Pomeroy says that black men are not as well qualified to make laws as white men, we cannot agree with him. We have an idea that Robert Purvis, Frederick Douglass, and Charles Lenox Remond, could make as good laws as the ship-loads of ignorant white riff raff from foreign lands that are every day landing on our shores. In fact they could have made better laws for their own race in the south than Jeff. Davis, Lee, Stephens or Toombs; they could have made a better decision on human rights than even the immortal Chief-Justice Taney; they would certainly never have framed codes and constitutions to enslave 4,000,000 of their own people. When "white males" make the same laws for women and negroes that they make for themselves, then we shall begin to trust them, not before.

You propose one measure, Mr. Pomeroy, that is fraught with danger to your sex. To give the ballot to women only without husbands would be offering a bounty on celibacy, or worse, a temptation to a compulsory expatriation of all the unhappy "white males" already in the bonds of matrimony; for between a vote, which is a certain protection, and a husband that is a broken reed (as is the case with the forty thousand drunkards in this state), the chance is, that when weighed in the balance of woman's affections, the husband might kick the beam.

We agree with you fully in a sincere desire to see American women more economical and simple in their dress and habits of life, and we promise to use our influence towards making "home" more pleasant and attractive, and one of the ways to do that is to give woman a more liberal education, a higher and nobler aim and ambition than she now has, for unless she is intelligent and interested in those subjects that occupy men, she cannot attract them from the club to the parlor; and when men forsake the home, women seek their happiness in dress and the gaities of fashionable life, and drown their misery in excitement and excess.

One more point in which we disagree with Mr. Pomeroy. So far from warning Christian ministers off the ground of politics, we consider it their highest duty to teach the people what their political responsibilities are. Had all our clergy been as faithful in their advice to the rulers of this nation as Mr. Beecher, Dr. Cheever, and a few others like them, we should never have been plunged in this last terrible war. We have the "muddy pool of politics" to-day, because all our national interests have been left in the hands of unprincipled and unthinking men. If the conversion of sinners is the business of the church, there is no place where such harvests can be gathered as in the world of politics. Let us hear from you again. *Short* letters and one point at a time. Remember our paper is a weekly, and we are flooded with communications that never see the light because they are so long. In this age, when meat, vegetables and milk are condensed, why cannot something in that way be done with ideas?

E. C. S.

San Francisco, August 6, 1868.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton—*Dear Madam:* I was called upon to day by a Mr. Tappan who solicited me to subscribe for your paper, "The Revolution," which I did immediately; and upon his suggestion, to write you a line informing you of the fact as I told him how well I used to know you.

I confess that the principles which you advocate so ably are not popular in California, but this I am inclined to attribute to ignorance, for the Californians are a most gallant people especially with regard to the ladies.

The institution with which I am connected, the Pioneer Society, has a large reading room, and I will keep it upon file. Hoping that you have not forgotten me, and if so, that this will remind you of my existence, I am,

Yours very truly, S. Crowninshield.

We have not forgotten our young friend, nor his noble mother whose dying pillow we smoothed in the grey light of one summer morn. For her sake, do what you can to elevate and educate her sex. Thanks for placing our paper in your reading room. We shall be glad to hear from you of the progress of our cause in California.

PETITIONS.

Mount Pleasant, Iowa.

Dear Miss Anthony: I commenced taking "The Revolution" with No. 19—am sorry that I cannot have the back numbers—have lent all I have and hope soon to send you some new subscribers.

The existence of that paper is a cause of great rejoicing, devoted principally, as it is, to the elevation of woman. The question is rapidly advancing. Let us batter away with cannons, guns, pistols, clubs,—every one can wield some weapon,—and soon the old fortification of prejudice and fogyism will crumble beneath our united efforts. I have been an earnest advocate of the subject for years

and the more I think and talk about it the more earnest do I become. MATTIE W. GRIFFITH.

The writer of the above has obtained 250 signatures to the petition for Woman's Suffrage in the District and says she will visit every house in that town and vicinity, and double the number she has already. This is precisely what should be done in every town and vicinity, that we may establish universal suffrage in one spot on this green earth.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 25th, 1868.

MISS ANTHONY: I wish to write you a few lines to assure you there is at least *one* man on the Pacific coast who is painfully conscious of woman's wrongs, and who is ready to fight his mortal best under the *true* banner of "Woman's Rights." But what have woman's rights to do with "Universal Suffrage"—the political and social equality of negroes, Chinamen, etc., with white men? If you could see how the barbarians of China are pouring in upon us, I think you would "let up" on "Universal Suffrage." Should universal suffrage prevail, the Chinese Empire could in a few years send voters enough here to control our government and monopolize every branch of industry now open to American laborers, both male and female. It is now almost impossible for poor white women to live in San Francisco. Chinamen, for mere nothing, will do sewing, cooking, chamber work, washing, in fact everything that poor white women can do for an honest living; and hundreds of good women here have by them been driven to the frightful alternative of starvation or prostitution.

Could you travel through Mexico and see the once-noble Caucasian, *now* in a state of semi-barbarism and fast approaching extinction, because he has transgressed the laws of Nature by amalgamating with inferior races—could you visit Hayti, and see how rapidly negroes who have been *apparently* civilized by intercourse with the whites go back to their native barbarism when left to themselves—could you live a few months in San Francisco, which is cursed with some fifty thousand Chinamen who have no more sense of moral responsibility than have the Minnesota Sioux, I am sure, Miss Anthony, you would not disgrace the noble cause you have espoused by advocating "Negro Equality" or "Universal Suffrage" as a counterpart of "Woman's Rights." Why, there would be just as much propriety in asserting the equality of the various metals. A negro is no more equal to a Caucasian, than copper is equal to gold.

I am a practical printer, and admire the typographical appearance of "THE REVOLUTION" very much indeed.

HIRAM WENTWORTH.

Ah! Hiram, after you read "THE REVOLUTION" a year, you will have higher ideas of human nature, its sacredness and dignity. We welcome even the poor Chinese to our shores, remembering that he is better here than in his own land. And if we establish justice on this Continent, we need have no fears that ignorance can outwit us. Your rights are only made secure as the rights of the humblest of God's children are faithfully observed and protected.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Aug. 24, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": Do you know of any reason why ministers always address their congregations as "*Brethren*"? Said congregations are invariably composed principally of women, and I don't know why their presence should be totally ignored.

I don't think any form of address is necessary, but if something is needed to fill up a pause, why can't they say, "Friends," or "Christian Friends"?

Please mention the subject in your next issue, if you think it of sufficient importance. I hope you will not become discouraged in your endeavors to rouse the women of the land from the apathetic state into which they seem to have fallen. Many of them talk in a very trying manner.

Mrs. Stanton ought to have thrown that negro over the grave-yard fence, that tried to assert his superiority to white *women*. She might have had any amount of help.

Very respectfully, MRS. F. J. DIBBLE.

Our indignant Kentucky friend refers to the young man, Theodore West, whom we met in Peterboro last summer, and expressed himself unwilling for women to vote. We fear if we attempted what she proposes, we should have proved his superiority in physical strength at all events. As to the "Dearly beloved brethren," we suppose as that form of service was written by men at a period when women were supposed to have no souls, that all that is needed to have sisters added is to call the attention of our reverend fathers to the fact of our existence. We remember once going into a cathedral in England with some ladies. It was a week day and during the morning service. We were the only persons present, and when the curate addressed as "dearly beloved brethren," the mischievous girl by our side quietly remarked, "is the man blind that he takes us for whiskerandoes?"

THOUGHTS ON THE CONDITION OF WOMEN.

MISS ANTHONY: I am graciously permitted by my liege lord to become a subscriber to your irrepressible little paper; but am strictly forbidden to follow the promptings of my heart and add my name to the list of those who are petitioning for the enfranchisement of our sex. At the risk of exposing myself to the scorn of the "strong-minded," I confess, that to avoid a domestic *scene*, I weakly submit to this fiat of my usually indulgent husband, although with heart and soul, and all my feeble feminine powers, I am with you in the great cause. Upon the subject of the *enfranchisement* of women I have not, I confess, fully made up my mind. I need enlightenment upon this point, which I expect to receive through the columns of "THE REVOLUTION." In the meantime, I am quite willing to follow, not blindly but inquiringly, in the footsteps of those noble champions of both sexes who are better acquainted with the operations and results of political affairs.

The end which this movement is designed to attain, the elevation and emancipation of our sex, has my entire sympathy and earnest co-operation. The present condition of woman in civilized countries seems to me deplorable. If the "pursuit of happiness" were, indeed, the real object of existence, the end for which we are created, then, indeed, the women of civilized Christian countries might look with envy upon their sisters in China or Turkey, in whom no aspirations for anything beyond their degraded, abject life, exist. The cultivation and development which women are grudgingly permitted to acquire, are but the little ray of light which reveals to the captive the unknown horrors of his cell.

Happiness, considered as a delight in existence, physical or mental enjoyment, is a passion which few women beyond the age of childhood retain or acquire. The few really happy women we see, secure in the love and companionship of a noble husband, surrounded by all the sweet associations of home, no heart-hunger, no unrequited labor, every reasonable desire gratified—honored, loved, trusted, such as these do not understand this outcry of their numerous unhappy sisterhood. They have no conception of the bitter trials of the thousands of women who are struggling for life in our midst; struggling against the injustice of men, the tyrannical decrees of society, the cruel partiality of laws, made by men, and executed or ignored by them as circumstances or their own criminal and selfish inclinations dictate. These few exceptionally happy women unite with men, "the natural enemy of our sex," as some one rather sweepingly asserts, to ridicule and oppose the efforts of the oppressed and wretched of their sex, who are entitled to their warmest sympathies. Most women will admit that the position of a beloved and honored wife and mother is the nearest approach to perfect felicity which a woman can attain; but the *rarity* of such instances is the best answer to offer those men who preach to our sex of contentment with home duties, with the support and protection of a husband or a father.

If all men were intellectually the superiors of all women, were wise, and just, and pure; if all women were beautiful, amiable and chaste, the wheels of society might move noiselessly along with man as engineer and woman as passenger; but this is not the case. Men are not invariably intellectual, *purity* is not required of them, and justice! tell me—whither has she flown? Beautiful women are not the rule; bitter wrong and harsh conflict destroy too often her delicacy and amiability, a perverted desire to please, or oftener still the overwhelming influences of an unguarded hour and the evil counsels of corrupt and treacherous men make fearful havoc with her chastity. We must take the world as it is—not as we would have it. A large majority of women cannot attain to the tranquil joys of a well-regulated home—where the wife is mistress of her husband's heart and hearth, mother of his children, blessed and blessing at every step. It is the persistent *ignoring* of this fact which renders man's obstinate refusal to do justice to woman, doubly aggravating. Let her be content with her home, her husband, her children, they cry. But if she has no home, no husband, no children, or if she has a "husband," suppose he is a brute, a villain, a tyrant!

It is the thousands of *suffering* women—outraged, insulted, deserved wives, who bear in silence agonies which will win for them the martyr's crown of glory; betrayed, despairing maidens, outcast from the society which has ruined them, plunging headlong into the abyss of degradation, no law to avenge, no hand to save! every ill-paid working woman, raising bitter outcry against the statutes which restrict her honest efforts, and reward their best achievements with a pittance; these it is who demand justice, and they shall and must have it—if the sense of honor is not entirely extinct in the hearts of men.

I cannot do much, owing to peculiar circumstances, to further the interests of our cause; but the little I can do with tongue and pen and means, I shall do with heart and soul.

Most sincerely, yours, J.

A PICTURE OF LIFE IN A COUNTRY TOWN.

MY DEAR UTILE DULCIE: It don't pay. Learn, as you value your life, to be selfish.

Company, is it? Who are these people who come into your life's sphere, when your heart is aching for peace and rest?

Here comes Mrs. Jones and the baby to spend the day. Mr. Jones will come to dinner. Utile's heart fills with great sobs as the door-bell rings and she ushers them in with the stereotyped kiss. She likes Mrs. Jones well enough, but it would be so charming to be alone. Half the time, nay two-thirds, she is without help, it happens so now. There are dinner and supper to get, she must give up the whole blessed day with its golden hours to vapid, useless talk. One day more lost. She makes the best of it. If Utile flies round and the gossip is lively, Mrs. Jones may think, when she goes back home to Swompville, that she had a nice time; if it was quiet and the hostess did not feel in the mood to be demonstrative, she may say to herself, "Well, I'm glad I'm home again; I meant to have asked her how she made that cake!" Does it pay?

Messrs. Smith and Robinson, Philander's business friends, come from a distant city, and stay all night. Pleasant men, as men go—you know they will not criticise the supper, nor ask the price of the table-cloth. They bid you adieu, and that is the last of them.

And here comes Miss Blank, from Crimpton, with a friend of hers, a perfect stranger to you. They have come to town to do a little shopping. Miss Blank thought she must stop and see you, and so they happen in, by the merest accident, just at dinner time. You are earnestly entreated not to put yourself to the slightest trouble, they are *so* sorry.

Perhaps it was washing day or cleaning day, and you had a "picked up" dinner. The table is laid and everything arranged for your own family, but it won't quite answer for company, so the plates are taken off and a clean table-cloth put on, and the table moved from the kitchen into the sitting room, on account of Miss Blank's eyes that see everything that is not "just so." Well, dinner is over, and they stay, they show you their bargains, and ask your opinion, they are satisfied that everything was real cheap, but they want your mite of praise. Shopping is tiresome. It is a sunny afternoon, you intended to go out and see a friend living at a distance, you felt so lonely, so life weary, you thought

an hour's talk with a good, sensible woman would help you. But Miss Blank and company are not in the least hurry, the cars don't go out until five o'clock. Miss Blank did think she would go down town again, but she believes she will wait till next time. Of course as hostess you feel that it is necessary to urge them to stay. Alas! it don't require much urging. When they get home it will be after their supper time, so you get them a cup of tea, they hate so to put you to the trouble, but they drink the tea nevertheless. Miss Blank does talk in her way, her friend being a stranger, and a "stick," has nothing to say about anything; she manages, when she bids you good bye, to say, that she hopes when you come to Crimpton you'll call and see her, and you say you would be pleased to see her again, and neither of you care a straw for each other. You never go to Crimpton when you can help it, and only then from a sense of duty to visit people who would think themselves slighted if you did not give them a chance to visit you, when they come to town on business, and you are morally certain you would not call to see her anywhere. And she, well, she thinks you are pleasant, your parlor is well furnished, she was glad she got the plaid instead of the striped dress, though she wishes she had purchased some of that cheap calico, and the regret tinges the memory of her visit with a grey cloud for months afterward. If there is anything that makes a woman dissatisfied with herself, it is when she loses a bargain.

Well, Utile clears away the table, does up the dishes, and prepares supper for the family. She has a little time left, and she takes up a book, but she is tired and nervous, and if she was like some people I know, she would get mad, and break things. Utile only leans back in her chair, closes her eyes, and thinks. She is almost lost in a pleasant little dream of what might be, when she hears the men folks, and knows it is time to get supper. Perhaps to pay her for her moments of blissful forgetfulness, she finds that the stew she left in the oven to warm over, has revenged itself by drying up, or the fire is down so low, it requires all her energy to persuade it to stay and not go clean out. Supper is over, the dishes are put away. One after another, the "family," your husband's two brothers and your lawfully wedded, go off down town on business. You can sit down now, my dear, and look over batch of shirts and stockings that want mending. You "darn" them mentally as you take stitch after stitch.

What are you crying about, simpleton? You wanted to be alone, didn't you? Women are never satisfied. It would have been so pleasant if Philander had stayed home and read to you while you sewed, or better still, if he had talked with you. You used to find enough to talk about before you were married. No reason you should have anything to talk about now, is it? Women are so unreasonable!

Mending finished, and put away, you retire to sleep, knowing that Monday brings washing, rain or shine, Tuesday ironing, Wednesday baking and "fixing" for the Dorcas Sewing Society, that will come Thursday, twenty of them; Friday you intend to go down town, call and see your friend, and have the rest of the day to yourself. You don't do anything of the sort. It rains all the morning; about noon the stage drives up to the door, two trunks, a band-box and sixteen bundles are safely deposited on the front door step, and you behold your husband's cousin's wife's brother, with his wife and two babies, "all the way from Illenoy,"—come on a visit-ation. They are strangers to you, but that don't make any difference. They knew Philander when he was a little boy. You ask them in, and while the door is open I will leave, for it gives me the heartache to think of what is in store for you.

You can't make Philander understand that you are growing old before your time. Talk to him and he will tell you, in nine cases out of ten, that a woman's place is home. Nature intended her for housework, it is her sphere; get over that, if you can! and everyone who is discontented or makes a complaint because she is not perfectly happy, as cook, housekeeper and seamstress, all in one, shall be put out, and the door of good society locked against her. "You did your duty." I can't agree with you, Utile. It may seem very selfish to say so, but my private opinion of you is, that when you give up your whole life to a senseless round of visiting and receiving visits from people who are stupid and common place, because you live among them and fear to offend, let me whisper it, you are a simpleton, and I love you, and kiss your pale, thin cheek while I say it.

XENA.

WOMAN'S TEARS.

BY ELEANOR KIRK.

"WOMEN AND CROCODILES"! said a prominent New York Editor, not long since, as a woman clad in deep mourning pocketed her rejected MS., and in a flood of tears walked out of the office.

"This dealing with ladies is by far the most disagreeable part of my editorial duties. If I take the trouble to criticise carefully, pointing out defects of plot, style, or finish, which criticism, a man, however harsh and scathing it might be, would be extremely thankful for—a woman bursts into tears, and leaves me with the impression that I am the most unsympathetic wretch on the footstool."

"But *that* woman was in great mental trouble," I ventured to suggest. "One could tell that by the delicate widow's cap which encircled her tearful face."

Just the reason why I once again stepped over my firm intention of never explaining the cause of the declination of articles. She is driven to literature, precisely like hosts of others, by want, and the hungry cry of her babies. I saw it all at a glance! and she has real talent, too. Had she accepted my remarks in the spirit they were given, she would soon be able to support herself nicely."

Now, I, being a woman, realized more keenly the agony of disappointment contained in this seemingly simple rejection of MS.; and yet, after all, our friendly editor was two-thirds right in the inference drawn by the crying propensity of women generally. Women cry too much! Deny it who can?. The lachrymal gland is educated from childhood to perform all sorts of duties. Does the baby girl desire a new wax doll, and Mamma decides that the old one will answer a while longer—the little Miss soon learns that all that is necessary for the possession of the treasure, is a draught on the lachrymal—and at it she goes. Is an attempt made to administer punishment justly? A flood of tears—a few heart-breaking sobs, and the righteous infliction is repealed. Boys go through the same performances until they become old enough to mingle in study and amusement with other boys—and then change is instantaneous. They soon discover that there is no nobility in tears—that all such exhibitions are weak and girlish. I have seen the greatest boy cry-baby possible to conceive of, so metamorphosed by a week's contact with other youths, that hi mother was scarcely able to recognise her former snivelling offspring. Girls have no such training as this; and the consequences is, that the majority of our women become so accustomed to the use of tears on all occasions, that many weep when to save their lives they cannot give an adequate reason for such lamentation. Some there be, who, like the foolish nightingale, go and press their breast against a thorn, that they may have the pleasure of crying over it. For the widow above mentioned, I have a world of sympathy. Hunger, cold and the wail of starving infants are enough to draw tears from the eyes of a man even!—but for her own sake especially, and that of the sisterhood generally, I wish she had choked back the tell tales, at least until she was alone. I wish she could have said instead: "Sir, I am very thankful for your criticisms; I will re-write immediately, remembering all your hints," and then, if, in a quiet way, she had given him some idea of the great want which had driven her into the field of letters, her desire to succeed for the babies sake, that editor, instead of saying, at her departure, "Woman and crocodiles," would have exclaimed, "Brave little woman; she shall have all the assistance I can give her," and the battle would have been half fought. To suffer and endure is woman's mission from the cradle to the grave; and I have never found that crying helped it any. On the contrary, it weakens the power of the brain, injures the optic nerve, and robs us of that dignity, which, as maiden, wife, or mother, is indispensable. Now women, I beseech of you, stop weeping. Don't cry over your own troubles, or any one's else. Who ever knew a woman with tears streaming down her cheeks, and great sympathizing sobs swelling up from her soul, to accomplish any good work?

"Tears are sometimes a relief," you say.

Granted. This minute part of our organization was undoubtedly intended for use, and there are times when to weep is to preserve one's sanity. The formation of a man's eye is the same as that of a woman's; but how immensely ridiculous it would seem to us should men, like their sisters, make free use of their handkerchiefs at pathetic stories, business vexation or discouragement. When a man weeps, he pours out his tears like drops of his life blood, and we are hushed in spite of ourselves into reverence and awe, standing, as we know we must, in the presence of a great grief. That women weep more from the force of habit than from necessity, is a startling truth. The time has come for all such weak ineffectual weapons to be put aside, and in their stead to light the lamp of a healthy determination to do, dare and succeed.

SENSIBLE ADVICE. — The Memphis (Tenn.) *Workingman* heads an article, "GIRLS BEWARE OF THEM," and proceeds to say, the opponents of the rights of women to vote tell us that it is a dangerous thing and will result in the unsexing of women and rendering them less lovely. This is a sad confession; for if true, it is simply so as a result of association with men, which would be as fatal in its effect at church, in cars, on a steamboat and at the theatre, as at the polls. Now girls, beware, and do not trust yourselves in the company of men who tell you that to go with them to the ballot-box and vote, would produce such direful results.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1868.

THE BRITISH COURTS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

It has been at length decided that under English law, old or otherwise, woman may be countess, peeress, duchess, or queen, but must not be a voter. The reason for all this is obvious enough under the genius of monarchical government. Aristocratical distinctions can exist only where the masses of the people are held under some badge of servitude. Disfranchisement is that badge, stern and crushing as the rocks on the backs of Dante's victims. If only peeresses, duchesses, and their like were to vote, there would be no objection. But if they vote, other women must vote. It was just so in extending suffrage to the other sex. It was a slow, laborious process, not yet completed, but steadily progressing. Woman will reach the boon at last, but by much the same crooked lanes and rugged roads. The greater injustice to woman is that the only real objection in her case is insurmountable by any effort she can possibly put forth. Men were excluded from suffrage by ignorance, poverty, criminal offences and other similar and to some extent, no doubt, good and justifiable reasons, that would hold equally valid in the case of woman. But sex was never man's obstruction, else he also could never have been a voter. The Ethiopian does change his skin, but never his sex. Woman is not disfranchised for poverty, ignorance, vice or crime; but because she is woman. That does not prevent her from being sovereign over the whole realm; supreme head of state, church, army, navy, parliament, courts, colleges, all institutions, civil, military, literary, or whatever separate political or ecclesiastical enginery makes up the government. Isabella of Spain, Eugenie of France may be sovereigns over vast empires, but could not be voters in the Tower Hamlets or Houndsditch. Victoria herself deposed, would be at once equally a political nonentity. She would be like a grain of mustard, least of all seeds. For, according to her own Blackstone, "husband and wife are but one, and that one the husband;" so that there being now no husband, there is "*no-nothing.*"

It is interesting, however, to know that there will need no change in the British constitution or law to put woman in possession of the ballot when her hour comes. Just as there was no change required in the American constitution when slavery was abolished, only a subsequent amendment prohibiting forever its re-establishment. It is entirely a question of popular sentiment corrected by better education and enlightenment. For the court admitted that no law had ever been passed to prevent woman from voting, while it was very probable that she once did possess and, to a limited extent, did exercise the right.

The citations of history and authority by Mr. Coleridge, who conducted the case for the women, were many of them very interesting; as follows:

Mr. Coleridge began with Henry IV. He proposed to show that women were suitors in the County Courts by the 1st of Henry V., which enacted how knights of the shires, esquires, and others, shall be choosers at elections. There were words large enough in this statute to include both sexes. As a matter of evidence, he should show that women had, in fact, exercised this right, and it would be for the other side to show what statute or law had taken away the right. The elections were formerly held in the County Courts. Now, what was the County Court at the time described? Blackstone, in the 1st vol page 178, said as to these courts:

"Elections of knights of the shire must be proceeded to by the sheriffs themselves in person at the next County Court that shall happen after the delivery of the writ. The free voters, were the suitors who attended in the court, before the bishop and the sheriff, who were the judges."

The Chief-Justice—The common law existed before the statute law. There is no trace, so far as I know, of women having been admitted to the assemblies of the wise men of the land.

Mr. Coleridge said the County Court was for the trial of causes, not a witenagemot. As witnesses and as parties, women were just as much suitors as men; and of those who were the representatives of property, women were just as much interested and had just as much right to send representatives (and probably did send representatives) as men. At all events, the knights of the shire were to be elected by the County Courts by these two Acts of Parliament. Then they came to the statute of Marlebridge, 52, Henry III., c, 10, which enacts:

"For the turns of sheriffs it is provided that archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, nor any religious men or women, shall need to come thither, except their appearance be specially required thereat for some other cause; but the turn shall be kept as it hath been used in the times of the King's noble progenitors."

The Latin thus translated was "nec aliqui viri religiosi seu mulieres," which he contended might mean "women," and not "religious women," or nuns, according to the stopping. It was translated "religious women." Not that they were incapable, but that they were exempted from that which was felt to be a burden from which they wished to escape, and not a privilege, as the custom was to impose fines for non-attendance. The statute of Marlebridge was positive to show that there existed this right even in a monk and a nun. It established that there was that right in woman, and *a fortiori* in religious women, to attend the turn; that was, it established the legal right of women to attend these assemblies equally with men. It was a mistake to say that the statute of Marlebridge prohibited women from attending the County Court; it exempted them from the burden, and was strong to show that there was no legal incapacity in women. In Bryn's *Brevia Parliamentaria*, at pages 152, 153, instances were given in which women had signed these indentures. He had also several certified writs which had been extracted from the Record-office. The earliest was the 13th of Henry IV. That was an indenture of a Parliamentary return from the county of York, betwoen Edmund Sandford and William Aldgate, attorney for the Earl of Westmoreland, and William Lucy, attorney for the countess. In the second of Henry V. he also had a certified copy of return from Yorkshire, and among other persons who were parties to the indenture was Robert Barry, attorney of Margaret, the wife of Sir Edward Vavasour. In the 6th of Edward V. he had an indenture of a borough between the Sheriff of Surrey and the Lady Elizabeth Copley, the widow, and lately the wife, of Roger Copley, Esq., for the return of a member for the borough of Gatton. This was signed "Elizabeth, sigilla sua."

The Chief-Justice—In these times the lord or the lady of Gatton returned the member.

Mr. Coleridge said this was in the full light of the blessed Reformation. In the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary was an indenture of the return of a member, signed by Dame Elizabeth Copley, in which she appeared to have returned him. In the 2d and 3d of Philip and Mary Dame Elizabeth Copley, in pursuance of the writ to her directed by the sheriff, made a similar return.

The next was the Aylesbury case, in the 14th of Elizabeth, which would be found in *Heywood on Elections*, 7th cap,, page 255. Coke, in a much quoted passage, said in his 4th Institute, page 5:

"And in many cases multitudes are bound by Acts of Parliament which are not parties to the elections of knights, citizens, and burgesses, as all they that have no freehold, or have freehold in ancient demesne, and all women having freehold or no freehold, and men within the age of one-and-twenty years," etc.

He thought he was right in saying that Coke was wrong in every other instance referred to but women, and he might be no more right as to women. This Institute was not of the same authority as other parts of his work.

The Chief-Justice—What Coke said might be taken as the impression of the day.

Mr. Coleridge—Certainly; but Lord Coke had his weaknesses, and was not particularly fond of clergymen or of women.

The Chief-Justice said the clergy were great people in those days. He found that Heywood said, in setting out the indentures already alluded to, that persons incapacitated from voting are those who "are so much under the will of others that they cannot have a will of their own. Among these are women, idiots, lunatics, revenue officers, and persons under arms."

Mr. Coleridge—In the return from Aylesbury referred to and set out in Heywood, Dame Dorothy Pakington, late wife of Sir John Pakington, signs the indenture of the return of the members, whom she states "I have chosen to be my burgesses for the said town of Aylesbury."

The Chief-Justice said he observed Heywood in his notes on the disqualification of women as to elections says "and so understood to be at the present day." This was in 1812. He spoke of women being parties to these returns, and he quotes the passage from Lord Coke, and says, "and so the law is at the present day." That was strong to show what was the opinion in 1812.

Mr. Coleridge referred to the 2d Volume of *Luders on Elections*, p. 13, where to a return of members from Lyme Regis were appended the names of several freeholders and women, who appeared as suitors in the County Courts and on the freeman's roll. Elizabetha and Crispina were entered as *liberi tenentes* and *liberi homines* They might be placed on the freeman's roll for the purpose of giving a right *jure uxoris*. Whatever the franchise was at that time, whatever justified the men who were parties to these indentures and rolls, justified the women in being parties. He did not wish to press the case beyond that. Now, did any of the statutes alter this? The statute of the 8th Henry, cap. 7, passed in restraint of the county franchise to 40*s.* freeholders, enacted that knights of the shire were "to be chosen in every county of the realm 'by people' whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of 40*s.* by the year." Assuming up to this time that the people were members of the County Courts there was nothing in this Act of Parliament to prevent women joining at elections if they possessed 40*s.* a year freehold.

The Chief-Justice—Have you read the title of that statute?

Mr. Coleridge—Yes, my lord. "What sort of men shall be choosers and who shall be chosen knights of the Parliament." He did not know where the heading of the statute came from. In those days each statute began with "Item." The heading was no part of the statute.

The Chief-Justice—To what time does the heading relate?

Mr. Coleridge—To the time of the translation of the statutes, in the reign of Richard III.

The Chief-Justice—The heading was some evidence to show what was the opinion at the time the translation was made.

Mr. Coleridge thought not, as it could not alter the statute. The headings in the early statutes could not be trusted. For example, in the early statutes the Pope was always called "our Holy Father the Pope." In the English translation he was called the "Bishop of Rome." Then, his argument was that at this time women took part in elections, and the words in this statute restricting the franchise were words large enough to admit them; and this being a statute in restriction of the franchise, if it were desired to restrain women in the use of the franchise, apt words would have been used, it was to be supposed. *There were no such words.* He now asked whether he had not produced evidence sufficient to show that women did, in fact, formerly take part in elections, and therefore the supposed constitutional incapacity did not exist as to the sex; and if it did not exist then it was not affected by the 40*s.* freehold statute and was not affected by any other.

The Chief-Justice in his decision admitted that it was quite true that a few instances of women signing indentures of returns of members of Parliament had been shown, and it was quite possible that there might be some other instances in early times *of women having voted and assisted in legislation.* Indeed, such instances, he said, were mentioned in Selden. But he maintained that "these instances were

rare, and of little weight as opposed *to the usage of several centuries.*"

And worse still, if possible, was the argument of Mr. Mellish, counsel against the rights of woman. He cited an old justice Probyn who, in a certain case, declared;

This case cannot determine that women may vote for members of Parliament, as that choice requires an improved understanding, *which women are not supposed to have.*

He also quoted a judgment of the Court of Session in Scotland only the week before. The Scotch judges, he said, had decided that "women were legally incapacitated, and that *to hold them entitled to vote was against public policy.*"

Such is the wisdom, such the justice of English Courts. One other strong point made was, that "the unbroken practice of two centuries, and a general practice of five centuries, was against it!" The argument, it will be seen, is three fold; the first, that to vote "requires an improved understanding, which women are not supposed to have;" the second, that the Scotch Courts decided that, "to hold women entitled to vote was against public policy;" and the third, that "the unbroken practice of two centuries was against it!" The whole ruling is old law and custom *versus* justice and right. One is reminded of an old Slavery Gospel Compendium, by Henry Clay: "What the law makes property is property; and two hundred years of legislation have sanctified slave property as sacredly as any other property."

Really, in old England and New England, in New York and the whole nation, it is simply a usage of brute force, of might against right, of divine authority overruled by barbarous despotism that withholds the right of suffrage from any intelligent, loyal negro, however black, or woman, however weak. P. P.

EDUCATION AND ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMAN.

The *Tribune* of last Thursday contained the following from Mr. B. Lowry of Erie, Penn. We have heard from Mr. Lowry before in most creditable way to himself, but never quite so nobly as he appears in this utterance. He says he will pursue the same course this winter at Harrisburg that he did last in reference to those educational institutions which exclude women or negroes from their benefits.

And then he adds:

The amended constitution of the state contemplates that the Legislature shall endow one or more institutions of learning, and I see no more direct way of meeting this woman question than this. I shall favor its settlement at the earliest day possible, and we would all do well to remember that nothing is settled that is not settled right. Educated men, the world over, make the best doctors, the best christians, the best farmers, the best mechanics, the best inventors, the best merchants, the best statesmen, the best neighbors, the best providers for those who are dependent upon them, and the best homes for themselves and their children, the best generals in the army, and the best citizens in private and public life. If these things be true, how can we answer to posterity for cheating them out of the half, "and the better half," of them? It is not the dollars, or the mines, or the mountains and valleys, or "the cattle upon a thousand hills" that make our wealth. It is the cultivation and education of the immortal part of man that constitutes our great wealth, and I will resist as best I can the crime of withholding upon equal terms that blessing, and that of enfranchisement from all mankind, of both sexes, of all countries, and of all colors under general laws applicable to all. Intelligence is the lever that elevates the world, why should not the weight of our daughters be put on that lever as well as that of our sons? I would go further, and repeal the charters of all societies and institutes of learning that discriminate against the sex of their mothers, and issue their degrees of M.D., and D.D., and LL.D., only to the lords and gentlemen. It is time the antediluvians were unearthed. I will, therefore, not vote the money of all to any institution in the state that will not open wide its doors to all who can pass the requisite examination, regardless of sex, race, nation, or color.

THE ELECTION IN ENGLAND.

A private letter from Manchester, England, written to Miss Anthony, gives a most interesting account of the late election in England, detailing some events not read in the newspapers. The writer says the adverse decision of the Common Pleas Court on the question of Woman's Suffrage was not unexpected, and nothing is now left us but agitation, agitation, till we can get the law changed. The writer deplores deeply the defeat of John Stuart Mill whom they have regarded as the leader of the Woman's movement. The writer further says they had a hard fight in Manchester, and lost one *earnest* friend, Mr. Ernest Jones, and feared at one time that even Mr. Jacob Bright would be defeated. On the day of the election in Manchester, the women were quite active, bringing many of their number to the polls, eight of whom actually voted, and all for Mr. Bright and one other Liberal candidate. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested by the people, and the new phenomenon was everywhere greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. The writer closes by saying, "Our cause in Manchester is very popular."

The following are the names of the women who voted at the Manchester election: Frances Cuthbert, Frances Flockton, Caroline Barton, Christian Copeland, Frances Roberts, Louise Barnard, Frances Blake, and Phillis Harper.

PAREPA VERSUS THE PULPIT.

The pulpit lets fly a shaft now and then at the opera, but generally gets the worst of it in the controversy. Madame Parepa-Rosa has been a recent subject of attack from the clergy and defends herself through the newspapers, in the following manner. It may be human depravity, it certainly is some power or influence which crowds the opera, while the pulpit, with marvelously few exceptions, struggles hard for a bare subsistence; and multitudes of well-educated and doubtless sincere ministers seek other callings after a few years, in hope of improving their material condition; indeed, often are driven to this course, by stern necessity. But to the letter:

Council Bluffs, Nov. 25.—Being a constant reader of your estimable paper, I have, of course, read the opinions, pro. and con., of different clergymen, on the subject of a profession I have followed now for some years, both as an operatic and concert singer, and must express my surprise that any clergyman can throw such fearful aspersions on a profession which can only be followed by using the gifts of voice and memory which God *alone* can confer; and as ladies can earn *so little* in any but a public performance, it is very hard that an honest woman should have such terms applied to her, merely by being obliged, through circumstances, to turn her talents to account. It is not right in a *man*, and particularly in a clergyman, to condemn a class he evidently does *not know*. I firmly assert that the ladies in my profession who are not virtuous women are the *exception to the rule*. I could mention scores of names, but will only name some of our prominent professional ladies, whom I personally have the pleasure of knowing, with few exceptions: Mme. Schumann, Miss Phillips, Mme. Sherrington, Miss Kellogg, Miss Hauck, Mme. Viardot-Garcia, Mrs. Seguin, Mrs. Edward Seguin, Mme. Medori, Persiani, Sontag, Mme. Miolan-Carvalho, Miss Nilsson, Mme. Jenny Lind-Goldsmidt, Mme. De Giuli, Mme. Harriers Wippern, Mrs. Bernard-Richings, Miss Bateman, Miss Henriques, Mme. Sainton Dolby, Clara Novello, etc., etc. Having named these ladies, whose reputation is well known, is enough to prove the truth of what I say. As to our not being received in society, or among the familiar circles of the best families in all countries, is a new idea, as I am sure that the experience of other artists must be *even* with mine, in being made welcome everywhere, and not finding sufficient time from our avocations to accept all friendly invitations received. I hope you will publish this hasty and quite unprepared vindication of my sister-artists, and express my strong feelings against being subjected to such sweeping aspersions by one who certainly ought to influence public opinion, having the advantage of giving his stigma to any profession from the pulpit. Again begging your pardon for taking your time and space, and hoping you will take in consideration my naturally wounded feelings, I remain, dear sir, truly yours,

Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa.

THE BODY IS MORE THAN RAIMENT.

Verily, much more. Though raiment, in the quantity found at the Messrs. Barnum, 196, 198 and 200 Chatham Square, is surely no trifle. And as to the quality, it would be a strange taste that could not be gratified there, whether as to variety or price. Calling in to see a gentleman the other day, we were invited to look through the establishment. No one in passing it would have any idea of its extent and the value of stock it contains. All the floors cover just one acre of surface. And surely there could be no need of nakedness in New York, were but the vast deposits there on sale, dispensed among its male inhabitants. An army might be quartered among its mazes, and every officer and soldier clothed for a winter campaign.

Whatever pertains to the wardrobe of *man*-kind is there, hat and shoe, only excepted. In quality, variety, style, and price also, every fancy can be *suit*-ed and every purse. The rich will find the costliest of material, and most expensive manufacture; modern, too, in style and finish; while the working man and the poor man can be supplied with substantial fabrics, well and strongly made, and adapted to any kind of business. Whatever wild beasts Mr. Barnum, the Showman, exhibited in his succession of Museums, running through many years, his enterprising namesakes appear to have secured at least, their pelts; for they show their patrons lion-skins, doeskins, beavers, merinos, alpaccas, and they themselves only know what else, in their stock of cloths, wholesale and retail; with every style, variety and price of Trimmings to match; beside the huge stocks of ready made clothing, on right hand and left, as you wind through room after room, or mount loft after loft, the whole a perfect labyrinth, until all points of compass are bewilderingly lost.

The Hosiery Department, too, is on the same extensive scale. Every kind of gentlemen's underclothing is there, all wool, and no wool, and all the way between—coarse, fine and superfine; all styles, all sizes, including, too, gloves, mittens, scarfs, cravats, handkerchiefs, collars, suspenders, travelling bags and valises to carry them in, and umbrellas if a customer is caught with his new suit in the rain.

The Messrs. Barnum do not adhere strictly to the One Price system, because they necessarily have remnants of their immense stocks to be disposed of at the changes of the seasons. But their custom made work is only sold at their stated prices. They seldom advertise, do not even make any elaborate show of goods and prices in their spacious windows. Though off from Broadway, and selling below Broadway prices, they

make no claim to be a "cheap store." Still less do they boast, as do many, of underselling all their neighbors. Every salesman is required to be respectful and courteous to customers; and the intention is, as far as possible, that the goods and prices shall recommend themselves to every reasonable person. Whoever calls and buys, it is hoped will be so well satisfied, that he will not fail to call again, and bring, also, his friends.

EVERY LADY'S HOUR.

Editors of the Revolution:

Speak loudly for human rights! Demand exact justice for all! all men, all women. Mind knows no sex except that which blends instead of separates. Permit not the mothers of the race to continue slaves, or they will be only mothers of slaves! Equality before the law for all people. Accept nothing less. Let blacks rise—lift them! Let women rise—aid them! And let Indians also, the only "native Americans," become a part of the body politic. Justice slumbers. Awaken her! Of the people, by the people, and for the people, this the watchword and the basis of the true government! Have we reached it? No! Shall we? Yes, as God lives and humans are inspired! Persist! *Persist!* Persist! The prayers of millions are with you to strengthen. America shall be free! Persist! J. Madison Allen.

Ancora, N, J., Dec. 1, 1868.

WHY SHOULD NOT WOMEN VOTE?

The principle that there should be no taxation without representation has always been deemed a sound one in connection with our republican institutions. That it is openly violated in the case of women who own property which is taxed, is unquestionable. That it should be so violated, no one can honestly say.

The theory of our government is, that those who are to be affected in their persons or property by enacted laws, should have a voice in choosing those who are to enact them. Women are affected in both these respects, and yet are excluded from voting. There can be only two arguments in favor of this exclusion: 1. That by the old common-law doctrine of *Baron* and *Femme* (now, thanks to progressive civilization, changed to Husband and Wife) a married woman had no separate rights in property which she could enforce at law, and could only be protected, as to her interests, in a Court of equity, through a trustee or next friend. 2. That it would impair the refining influence of woman to appear and vote at the polls.

As to the first argument, it no longer exists, at least in this state, and never could apply to single women anywhere. Married women can now own separate personal and real estate, and carry on business on their own account, and single women always could have done so. Married as well as single women may, also, now sue alone in the courts of this state.

In reference to the second, no gentleman or decent man would ever insult a woman, or be otherwise than respectful to her at the polls; and, if it were necessary or proper, a separate entrance might be provided for them, as is done at some of our Savings Banks; or some other regulation could be made to avoid the indelicacy of mingling with men. The best influence of woman in society might be preserved *without sacrificing her rights.* Why, then, should not women vote? at least those who desire to? Some say that women have no minds of their own—Have n't they? But what do you say as to some *men* in this respect?

THE CONVENTION IN BOSTON.

Boston, Nov. 30th, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

The Woman's Suffrage Convention here was a great success in many respects; yet a deep undercurrent of sadness surged through the hearts of many who are working for woman's highest and holiest interests, that the leaders of it, those who have given the best part of their lives to the consideration of this and kindred subjects, should still pull at the same old wires that politicians have jerked until they have nearly ruined the nation. They declared emphatically that when we have the ballot we shall vote only for those who now vote for us!

The people are looking to woman at this hour almost as to a saviour, and are asking of her something better than political wire-pulling, even for the purpose of regaining her own lost liberty. The voice of the people in this, is the voice of God. A series of meetings for the discussion of progressive ideas is being held here, and for the last four weeks the question has been "Ought Women to Vote?" Each night has shown a deep and growing interest in the subject, and some of the speeches in the affirmative, from both sexes, would not disgrace the Senate. Last evening, Mr. Salmon, the chairman, introduced your paper, from which he read an article, and spoke in the highest terms of the reforms to which your columns are dedicated.

The high tone of these meetings, in which woman takes an active part, shows what may be expected when her presence is felt at the polls. Elizabeth La Pierre Daniels.

THE RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION.

Thanks to our correspondent for so promptly furnishing us with the proceedings of the Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Convention in that brave little state, last week. His letter as below, is all for which we can possibly make room this week.

Editors of the Revolution:

Never has the Woman's Suffrage question been more thoroughly ventilated in a week's time than in the little State of Rhode Island during the last few days.

First, a Call for a Woman's Suffrage Convention appeared in the Rhode Island papers, from Dec. 5th to Dec. 11th, the day on which the convention was held; a call so influentially signed as to disarm opposition in advance.

Next a little stroke of comedy. Rev. Mark Trafton, a Methodist Minister, gave a smart vestry lecture on "The Coming Woman" on the evening of the 9th. His "coming woman" was to be a good housekeeper, mind her p's and q's, dress according to Trafton's taste, and *not* vote. It is said, that Rev. Mark Trafton was formerly a clerical defender of slavery. It is perfectly fit that a man accustomed in former days to trot out St. Paul in defence of the Fugitive Slave law, should bring him forward in these later times in opposition to the emancipation of woman.

In the Providence *Journal* of the 10th, which reported the Rev. Trafton's lecture, appeared a forcible and graceful vindication of Woman's Suffrage, by Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman, the poet. This was followed on the 11th, the morning of the Convention, by an able and earnest article on the same subject by Miss Nora Perry, the well-known contributor to *Harper's Magazine.*

The convention in Roger Williams's Hall in Providence, numbered over a thousand at each session, and its dignity, intelligence, perfect system, ability and social weight, received most respectful acknowledgment on all sides. It was by far the finest convention on any subject held in Rhode Island for many years. The Providence *Journal*, Senator Anthony's paper, which has so often kindly greeted the woman's movement, and which is, in many respects, the ablest of the New England dailies, printed an elaborate and excellent report of the convention, and bore full testimony to its high character and success.

The *Herald*, the Democratic organ of the state, also handsomely and gallantly acknowledged the weight and influence of the convention, kicking up its heels only very slightly in the course of a column of editorial. The *Press* alone, of the Providence dailies (Republican), while necessarily speaking respectfully of the convention, yet devoted nearly two-thirds of its editorial to scolding Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester in the interest of Rev. Trafton, who was present in the convention, but who apparently did not fancy facing that battery of Woman's eyes, when he was invited to the platform.

Among the substantial results of the convention, were several hundred names signed to the petitions to Congress and the state Legislature; the formation of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, thoroughly to canvass the state for signatures, and the raising of sufficient funds to furnish a starting point for the work of the association.

This is an outline of the week's labors and triumphs; a very neat little campaign upon the whole. If every state would hold an equally influential convention, it would, at least, give to the women who want, and are determined to use, political power, a veto on the nomination or election of any man who meanly or tyranically opposes this movement.

The episode of the Rev. Trafton is only good for comedy and hardly worth the space it occupies. The columns of the daily papers, and probably the pens of other correspondents, will furnish you the details of the convention.

Narragansett.

THE "VINDICATOR."

The *Record and Vindicator* of this city vindicates its own character for purity in its advertisements thus:

From the first number of the *Record*, in January, 1869, to the present, no objectionable advertisements were ever inserted in this paper; and this course we have pursued for years before Miss Anthony came to purify the press by precept and example, and this course we will pursue to the end of our editorial career. We have refused for such advertisements more money than all our advertisements combined ever brought us; but advocating principles in the editorial page and advertising vice in the business columns does not square with our ideas of the duty of a journalist.

"The Revolution" is compelled to say that there is a whole column of a single advertisement in that very *Vindicator*, which it would not insert for all the money both papers ever made by their advertisements.

WOMEN AND HORTICULTURE.

Editors of the Revolution :

I NOTICE in a late number of the *Gardener's Magazine* (English) that Miss Burdett Coutts has offered five hundred pounds in prizes for the promotion of cotton culture. Now, why cannot some one or more of our wealthy women in this country do as much towards the advancement of American Horticulture. Suppose we have an Horticultural School for girls near New York city, or one in every large city and village. There are thousands of girls! yes, and women too who would like no better employment than cultivating fruits and flowers, but to become successful cultivators, they need to be taught the rudimentary principles of the science. It cannot be said that there is anything unwomanly in cultivating flowers, and I cannot see any good reason for debarring the sex from a share at least of the profits of this constantly increasing trade. The natural taste for flowers seems to be far more general with women than men, and why should it not be developed and turned to a valuable account? All that is required to make such a move popular and successful, is for some noble hearted woman to come forward and make a liberal donation of land or money. Give us Horticultural Schools, where girls can be taught how to grow fruits and flowers, and there will soon be an end of that scarcity of sober, intelligent gardener as at present exists. It is true that Botany is taught in some of our schools, and girls learn a few of the rules, but not enough to be of any practical use to them in after life. I do not believe that either men or women should have a monopoly of any branch of horticulture, because there is work connected with each that is better suited to one than the other; but let us have a partnership, each doing that which is most congenial, and not, as at the present time, one having all the profit and honor, whether entitled to it or otherwise. Women have done and are still doing much for horticulture, but I fear that they receive little credit and less encouragement to continue in the good work. We want an extensive horticultural establishment near New York city, where a thousand girls and women can earn enough during summer to support themselves in winter, just as a large proportion of our farmers and fruit gatherers do at the present time.

There are plenty of charitable people in New York, who will give thousands of dollars towards furnishing guides to lead the *souls* of women into paradise; but if there is one who is ready to furnish the means of placing these ladies in a terrestial garden of Eden, let him or her speak.

A. S. FULLER.

COMING ALONG.—The *Anti-Slavery Standard* can afford no longer to be behind. It now says: "We shall not have achieved a truly republican government while woman is disfranchised. There is no more logical ground for disfranchising women, on account of sex, than for the proscription of men on account of color. The argument which holds woman responsible to government, as a subject and tax-payer, demands as its logical sequence her full enfranchisement. As justice is the highest expediency, so would the enfranchisement of women prove as expedient as the claim is just."

Better late than never, but what pity that so just conclusions could not have been reached two years ago! It would have compromised the Anti-Slavery Society no more then than now. But the world might not then have heard of "THE REVOLUTION."

PEACE AND LIBERTY IN SWITZERLAND.

THE following discourse was delivered at Berne, Sept. 26, 1868, at the Second Congress of the Peace and Liberty League, by Madame Maria Goegg, president of the International Association of Women. "THE REVOLUTION" is indebted for the Translation, to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller.

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES: I speak in the name of the International Association for Woman, and I thank you sincerely, gentlemen, for your decision to regard us in this Congress as your equals in right. I hope your noble example will be felt throughout Europe and will bear fruit; I hope, also, that the members of the Congress to which I made application in the name of our Association will next year acknowledge that they were wrong in not taking my address into consideration and in not admitting woman to their councils as you have done.

Gentlemen and ladies, our design is, as you know, in addressing ourselves to *mothers*, to generalize and spread the elevating ideas of the League of Peace and Liberty. But here we find an invincible obstacle—the position in which woman is placed by law and custom.

These laws enacted in the pride, egotism and inhumanity of our ancestors, now react on men themselves, giving them companions unprepared for the great intellectual struggle to which they are impelled. The exclusion of all active thought (in which they have been upheld) has caused inability in some, indifference in others, and childishness in tastes and ideas, with the greater part.

To remedy this evil a rational change is necessary—an act of justice—the abolition of all laws subjecting woman to man—the reinstatement of woman as a human being, responsible for her acts and condition.

Up to the present time, woman has not had the right to work, save that prescribed or tolerated by man, and this limited choice has disgusted the daughters of the middle class with work, and has created among the poor a competition which makes their gain but nominal, and which has caused this deplorable immorality, the wave of which rises higher and higher, and threatens to invade society, unless a prompt remedy be applied. Moreover education has been regarded for woman, I will not say useless, but at least *secondary*—Indeed there have been but few among them who have enjoyed the precious advantages of knowledge, and whilst they saw their brothers pass from class to class and rise to the highest degree in study, they, poor oppressed creatures, were obliged to regard themselves as imperfect beings—to hush the inner voice which urged them, *them also*, to seek life in education; and to throw themselves into the arms of the Priest, who murmured in their ear the word "Resignation," and showed them heaven as the price of their tears!

To-day, it is true, in all countries, the most enlightened men are concerning themselves with the two questions which I have just named, knowledge: the right to labor, and education, and it is probable they will be able to settle them satisfactorily. But, gentlemen and ladies, the result cannot be really practical unless it is inspired by the true breath of liberty, and for this reason I address to you these words; you, apostles of humanity, assembled in this place, to the end that you not only demand for woman equality in labor and education, but also that you claim her perfect legal equality. How would it be possible to admit that the necessities of the present age demand enlightened women, and yet preserve the chains riveted in the days of ignorance?

The position given to woman in the middle ages and in remote times, is explained by the life led by the men of that epoch. Their only perception being domination, their first care was, naturally, to rule the weak beings around them; their only occupation being war, war all of oppression, caprice and tyranny, it was quite natural that the women who shared neither in their passions nor combats, should be treated by them as beings of an inferior order. The education of the men being almost nothing, so essentially so, that even in the last century great captains boasted that they could not sign their names, the education of woman was still less, and I am not astonished by the restrictive laws made by men who were imbued with the single idea that might makes right. But, to-day, in the face of the infinite progress resulting from the intellectual development of society, the position of woman is an anomally, an unmeaning thing, a tyranny which, like all tyrannies, will bring misfortune to the tyrants if persisted in. To-day, gentlemen, you cannot, without a ridiculous want of perception, seek to free yourselves from the arbitrary yoke of the will of the strong, without protesting at the same time against the arbitrariness of men who dare determine the limits of nature.

If among those who listen to me some are not yet convinced of the justice of our cause, will they permit me to remind them that their own interests are at stake. If they desire real progress, it is through the aid of enlightened women that they must attain it, for it is woman who is charged with the education of children, and it is she who awakens within them principles that shall govern the entire life. The men who changed the face of the world in enacting the laws of 89 were nurtured by women inspired with the ideas of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, and particularly with the writings of the author of *L'Emile* of the *Vicaire Savoyard* and of the *Contrat Social*. If these men have constructed an edifice subject to oscillation, it is that intoxicated with glory, they have paid with ingratitude the heroic aid of their mothers and wives. They have wished liberty but for themselves, and have not, in proclaiming the imprescriptible rights of *man*, proclaimed those, not less imprescriptable, of *woman*. They paid dearly for their fault, and their descendants are still sufferers thereby. In denying woman as his equal, the proud man hinders his own elevation. If woman had been called from 89, to make a free use of all the faculties with which nature endowed her, society, far from having to submit to a retrograde movement, would have progressed.

Military despotism could not so easily have established its authority, the clergy would not have found ears so disposed to allow them to reconquer their lost rights: in our days men would not allow themselves to be led into war like meek sheep, the Church would not intermeddle with the civil code, schools would be improved and spread in profusion! Yes, gentlemen, you would have all that, if all the generations which have succeeded each other since the French Revolution had imbibed with their mother's milk, desire for the public welfare, and justice, and love of truth!

Who are the greatest adversaries to the emancipation of woman? They are the interpreters of religious dogmas who know well that their power is lost from the day that woman becomes enlightened! There are indeed, on our side, many egotists who wish liberty but for themselves, many conservatives who fear all change, many libertines who dread seeing their playthings escape them when women shall no longer struggle against poverty, and shall learn by education, and the use of her rights, her true value. But by the side of these various leaders, very despicable you will confess, there is the religious leaven, and all submit to it more or less. Read the writings of the *Ultramontains* or Pietists—the style is everywhere the same—"Woman must content herself in the place which God has assigned her."

Ah, gentlemen! was not the same language used respecting you, in those times when the clergy and nobles, aided by the military, crushed the citizen, the laborer and the peasant with every ignominy—mocked at their complaints, and considered them impudent to think of *equality*? Was it not in the name of this same religion that the peasant was forced to pass his entire life bowed over the soil which he cultivated for his superiors while he and his family were dying of hunger? Is it not in the name of this same religion that the slave is taught to obey his master and to silently endure his ill-treatment? And yet you have thrown off their bonds: the peasant has become a man, as free, as independent as he who arrogated to himself the right of master; the slave has broken his chains, and humanity, far from suffering thereby, has burst into songs of joy. Away, then, with all reserve in regard to woman. As the best educated and intelligent men are, with the aid of reason, the best husbands and the best fathers, so woman, by the highest exercise of all her faculties, will become a being far superior to what she now is, will be more attached to home life, will better comprehend and fulfil her duties as wife and mother.

There are, gentlemen, so many complaints made against us that I am surprised to see this effort for change on our part, so dreaded. If I did not fear wearying you, I should repel at length two accusations brought against us by man. One is that woman is aristocratic by nature, the other that she prefers money to progress. How, in conscience, can a man of self-respect apply to us this epithet of aristocrat, when he knows its origin? He who first threw this opprobrium in our face, is the man who destroyed a part of the work accomplished by the Revolution, the despot who has risen but at the expense of liberty, and who is maintained on his usurped throne but by wars of conquest. Why, then, did Bonaparte fear woman if he believed her so truly devoted to

royalty? Why, then, did he so persecute the liberal female genius of that age, Madam de Stael, in saying coarsely to her that he valued a woman according to the number of children she had given her country. I believe, on the contrary, gentlemen, that nature, in making the heart of woman accessible to pity for all the unfortunate, gave her the truest humanitarian principles—made her, by birth, very liberal. If there are among women, as among men, aristocrats, it is much more the effect of education and prejudice, much more the work of men themselves, than of nature.

As to preferring money to progress! Ah, gentlemen, how easily a judgment is expressed, but how seldom is it equitable! How can woman interest herself in progress when she herself is left outside of all progress? Women—I mean the masses—do they read the papers? Do you seek to develop this taste in them? Do you speak to them of serious things? Do you aid them in interesting themselves in public affairs when you repeat to them constantly that their duty is, to be occupied in domestic cares? Do not some husbands look upon their wives *tete a tete* with priests with less repugnance than they would feel in seeing them discuss, for the same length of time, certain questions of public interest? Why, then, be astonished that the majority of women remain indifferent to a range of thought in which they have never had occasion to exercise their minds? I protest against these two epithets, as I protest also, in the name of the International Association of Women, against the idea that woman having regained the rights with which nature endowed her, will be less attached to marriage; we declare, on the contrary, that we regard it as the true and only base of modern and humanitarian society.

In closing, I beg the Congress to adopt some resolutions in our favor; and I address particularly to you, ladies, one word. The more we work ourselves for our own education and independence, the more will we inspire man with respect for us, and the more certainly secure his aid; and in this manner, I am convinced, that we shall yet come out victorious, from the struggle which has no other end, I repeat it, than to insure everywhere the reign of justice and liberty, and instruction and happiness to every human being.

Do Women Want to Vote?—The New York *Sun* thinks if the women of every city in the Union would do what the Manchester women have done, namely, make a special claim to be registered as voters, and sign the document with their names and address, it would be known what proportion of the sex in each city, and finally throughout the United States, really do want to exercise the franchise. We are told that many of them have no wish to be thus invested with political power, and perhaps this is the case to a greater extent than we think. At any rate, it will give strength and dignity to the general movement if this minor step be taken. In Manchester 5,346 women set the rest in that city and elsewere the example of decided action in the premises by claiming to be put upon the registration rolls, and a number of them actually voted too, as we show in another part of "The Revolution."

Patronizing Art.—A. T. Stewart has ordered a large picture representing the Emancipation of American Slavery, from M. Yoon, of Paris. Who will one day paint the no less interesting picture of labor emancipated from capital? More than twenty thousand farmers toil from year to year to earn A. T. Stewart's annual income; his, not under the divine law of industry but the devil's law of interest at such rates as keep labor poor with all its toil and production, and capital rich, and growing richer, without toil of any kind and still less production.

Female Suffrage.—Our "Adler" and the Chicago *Post* are out for Female Suffrage. This is right and just. At least so says the Reading *Eagle*, a lively and liberal little Pensylvania Daily.

Good Sign.—"The Revolution" is not quite a year old yet, but its good example and precept have influenced the press immensely already, all over the country, on the subject of quack and immoral advertisements. Many papers come to this office with announcements (marked) like the following from the *Western New Yorker:*

We have for some time excluded, and shall not in future insert, any of the large class of objectionable advertisements and special notices that are everywhere seeking publicity. No vender of sugar-coated abortion pills, no "old physician" living on a sand-bank with private medicines, no prurient panderer to ignorance or vice—in brief, none of the heralds of nasty nostrums—can make our columns the conduit of their uncleanness. Without supposing ourselves responsible for anything that our advertisers choose to say, we shall nevertheless exercise a just censorship in the interest of the homes and firesides which the *New Yorker* is intended to instruct, entertain and profit.

Calamity Coming.—Rev. J. D. Fulton, of the Baptist Tremont Temple, Boston, formerly of Albany and Troy, in this state, preached against Woman Suffrage in Boston on Thanksgiving day, bringing out some new suggestions on that subject. He said:

With woman voting the country is given up to Romanism. The priest loses the man, but keeps the woman. Give him the control of the vote of the thousands of servants in the great cities, and there is an end to legislation in behalf of the Sabbath, the Bible, the school system, temperance and morality."

On which the Troy *Budget* writes in this manner: There is death in the "pot" and destruction in the kitchen. When the Massachusetts Puritans come to take Fulton's view of Woman Suffrage they will drop their pet ism, suddenly.

O, We Go!—The Owego people, even the Young Men's Christian Association, are delighted that a woman is to lecture, or rather give a reading there, some time soon. No woman ever yet spoke there with the approval of the people generally, still less of the religious people.

To Correspondents.—Our desks are crowded with their favors. Some are so long as to be wholy inadmissible, unabridged, and to hew them down to our limits, is a labor for which we positively have not time. Send us only the pith and marrow of your thoughts. You will then be more likely to get printed, and a thousand times more sure to be read.

Rapid Progress.—Six propositions, at least, for Woman Suffrage have already been introduced in Congress; three of them by Mr. Julian.

A lady in Lee, Mass., has earned $900 in *five* years with a sewing machine.

We wonder if a man can be found, who would be contented with earning $900 for five years work?

An Association, to be known as the Staten Island Skating Club, was formed at Port Richmond, S. I., on Tuesday before last. Mr. Frank Parks was elected President, Miss Minnie Russell Treasurer, and Miss Carman, Directress of the Club.

Glass Making.—The number of persons employed in glass making at Murano—one of the islands of the Lagoon—and Venice is 5,000, two-thirds of whom are women and children. The material used in the manufacture is estimated at 7,000,000 francs.

LITERARY.

Of Magazines—We have the Michigan *University*, for December. Ann Arbor. Two dollars a year.

Leisure Hours, Pitsburg, Pa., for December. O'Dwyer & Co., publishers. $2 per annum.

The Massachusetts *Teacher and Journal of School and Home Education*, for December. Boston: Published by the Massachusetts Teachers' Association. $1.50 per annum.

Excelsior, for December, a capital number of an excellent journal. New York: Olmsted & Wellwood. $2.50 per annum.

In Pictorials, we have Harper's *Weekly* and Harper's *Bazar*, both capital of their kind; cannot be too widely circulated. Some of the pictures are fit to frame for the parlor. The *Bazar* is a good deal more than a Fashion delineator, holding higher views of woman, and her rights and responsibilites than any other journal of its kind that we have seen. It and the *Weekly* are four dollars a year each.

In Reports, there are on our table the first of *Midnight Mission* for the year 1868. A little one in size, but bursting out with interesting facts and statements on this new and most important branch of benevolent enterprise

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Herald of Peace is the name of a sixteen page quarto, published in Chicago, Ill., by members of the Society of Friends. It is devoted to the cause of Peace and general religious improvement. It numbers among its contributors Prof. Thomas Chase, of Hayerford College; E. L. Comstock, the well-known missionary and philanthropist; J. H. Douglas, Secretary of the "Peace Association of Friends of America;" Wm. F. Mitchell, of Philadelphia, long an active and efficient laborer among the Freedmen; David Hunt, a veteran minister of Iowa; Prof. D. Satterthwaite, of New York, beside many others, both among Friends and others.

The Children's Department is edited with great care. Altogether it is decidedly the leading paper among the Friends. It is issued at the low price of $1.50 per year

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The Hunter and Trapper. By Halsey Thrasher, an experienced hunter. New York: Orange Judd & Co., 245 Broadway. A very pretty illustrated little book of about a hundred pages, written, as the author says in a prefatory note, by "a blacksmith by trade," and not a book-maker, but who has "studied the nature and habits of animals," and knows well how to capture them, how to dress their skins and how to color them and fit them for use. He describes all kinds of traps and snares, and gives pictures of them, tells how to fish, how to hunt bees and do many other things interesting to boys and useful to men, especially in the newer parts of the country, or wherever there is game or fish.

The Erie Railroad Row. By Charles F. Adams, Jr. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. New York: American News Company. Six-and-forty pages of most remarkable statements and disclosures on the deeds and misdeeds of one of the vastest monopolies in the world. Might be reckoned the world's *eighth* Wonder, only that it would eclipse forever out of sight the other seven.

In Memoriam — Introductory Lecture to the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, at the opening of the 19th session, Oct., 1868. By Rachel L. Bodley, M. L. A. Philadelphia: Merrihew & Son, 243 Arch street.

Proceedings of the Second Session of the National Labor Union, in convention at New York City, Sept. 21, 1868. Philadelphia: W. B. Selheimer, printer, N. W. corner Fifth and Chestnut streets.

An Appeal for the Indians. By Lydia Maria Child. New York: Wm. P. Tomlinson, 39 Nassau street.

Peters's United States Musical Review, Peters's "Companion for the Flute and Piano," Peters's "Glee Hive"—three handsome musical magazines—the former, a monthly, containing, besides several pieces of music, much interesting and valuable reading matter. New York: J. L. Peters, 198 Broadway.

A slave in Brazil has carved a statue of Cupid, for which he has won the national medal for the best work of sculpture and received his liberty. This is the first instance ever known of the god of Love getting a person out of trouble.

"THE MESSIAH."

THE NEW YORK HARMONIC SOCIETY will give Handel's Grand Oratorio of the Messiah in Steinway Hall, Christmas evening, Dec. 25. Miss Julia A. Houston of Boston, Miss Adelaide Phillips, Mr. Geo. Simpson and Mr. W. H. Beckett are the Soloists, with a full orchestra and an efficient chorus. Mr. E. J. Connolly, organist, and F. L. Ritter, Conductor. We need not say that the Harmonic Society has been doing a good work the last seventeen years in bringing before the public the works of the best masters; and now, after so many years of labor in educating the public taste, often at a pecuniary sacrifice to the itself, we hope a grateful public will fill the house on this Annual Festival.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND. A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.*

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 24.

RESUMPTION.

Editors of the Revolution:

Many men in conspicuous places are urging a return to specie payment—so-called. They seem to be very anxious to take all power out of the hands of the government, and make it impossible for it to help the people in the financial crisis which their policy of contraction and the destruction of legal-tender notes, coincident with a return to specie payments, would bring about. If Congress can only be seduced into abdicating its constitutional powers with respect to the regulation of the value of money—and that value cannot be regulated except by the adaptation of the volume of the currency to the wants of trade, and the fixing of the rate of interest, if this power can be given over to private corporations, who shall be, in the main, free to expand or contract the currency with the aid of money-brokers and speculators, so as to get high rates of interest and bring down the prices of labor and property, these men will be apparently well content.

The resumption of specie payments is the worst possible measure for the people, and it is only because of this continued clamor for a retrograde step toward barbarism, and the present speculations in money that trade is so unstable. Let the government furnish a permanent legal-tender paper currency sufficient in amount for the wants of business, and let it be known that if speculators tighten the money-market, the government will, on the instant, issue more money (any surplus being always fundable in interest-bearing bonds), and the people would devote themselves industriously to the production and exchange of all needful articles. The waste of productive energy caused by our false, uncertain and fluctuating financial policy is greater than can be estimated.

It is impossible for the government, with gold and silver coins as the basis of the currency to have any real control over the value of money. So long as the rates of interest can rise and money be made scarce by hoarding—evils inseparable from a metal currency—there can be no safety or certainty in undertaking enterprises and spending labor and skill on that which may pass out of a man's hands without any fault on his part, simply by means of a defective standard of value.

But it is said, money is a commodity, gold and silver are the only true money. W. M. Boucher, in his pamphlet on the "Science of Money," makes some interesting observations on this point:

Doubtless the first money, or the first attempt at money, or a system of money, was a mongrel—as our specie money is now—that is, it was neither really and wholly money, or barter, but a combination of the two, —the two in one—a kind of barter-money; that is, a money with an *intrinsic* value; that is, in *part* a commodity; and so, again, a commodity-money, or money-commodity—just what our specie money is this day. Some have already seen this much, and have called our system "barbarous." Were they wrong? If so, it was on the side *favoring* us. I go farther, and say, this comparison was a slander on barbarians, for some of them have excelled this. This was doubtless the best system, the most practicable one, and therefore the natural system, for those times, and for obvious reasons: then there was no stability in the homes and residences of individuals; no stability of society; no certain security of property; there were no nations; and therefore a mere token for, or representation of, value; or a promise individual or national, would not have been, as now, practicable or sufficient. And all money is either this commodity-money, or a mere promise stereotyped or made visible and tangible by some species of registration, as I shall show. All commodity-money must be in part, or have some degree of the promise-money in it, otherwise it will be a mere commodity, and therefore not money at all; and hence, there can be no money without a promise; and hence, too, there is virtually no money but a promise; all else is but a commodity, disguise it as you may, by raising its price, by making it, for the time being, the bearer, or visible and tangible registration of the promise; therefore, money is a promise. * * * * * *

In those times, the promise being of little worth, the thing by which it was registered, or to which it was attached, was required to be proportionately more valuable as a commidity—to have proportionately more intrinsic value in itself—not in degree, but in kind, and so to be a commodity, and to pass proportionately more purely as a commodity. So, in proportion as promises became more reliable, and of greater worth, did its visible and physical manifestation and perpetutation require to be less purely a commodity, until now, with us, it no longer requires to be a commodity at all, or, in other words, to have any intrinsic value; and therefore now we can have the advantage, if we will, of having real money—money pure and simple; or still, in other words, and by which I perhaps shall make myself better understood, the less reliable and valuable the promise, the more necessity there was of its being attached, etc., to a commodity, and the less possibility, so to speak, there was of having money at all; or, the more reliable and valuable a promise became, the more nearly we were approaching the time when real money, pure and simple, should become possible, or the more money could be had.

The more valuable the promise became, the higher the commodity to which it was attached, or in which it was registered, rose in price, or fictitious value; the simple attachment, etc., having in the first place drawn or thrown it out of its natural career as a commodity, pure and simple; for instance, gold and silver, if it were not for their present relation in this respect, would not be worth say more than one-half or one-quarter part of what they are now rated at, which would be their intrinsic value, as a commodity, pure and simple—their value in the arts.

This effect of the promise in raising and changing the price of the commodity to which it is attached, is an element of great disturbance—of war and strife among the elements or objects of commerce, or in the matter of the exchange of commodities, and of misunderstanding and confusion to everybody.

A doubt is often expressed whether if money be made abundant and its powers expressed upon an inexpensive material, we may not have too much of it. Mr. Boucher meets the objection in this way:

Every one sees and feels, now-a-days, almost intuitively, the advantages of having "plenty of money." But to the unsophisticated I would say, do not take this phrase, "plenty of money," too literally or too figuratively: it only means plenty of money with which to effect the exchange of commodities (but, as you will see, this itself is a long stride toward making plenty of money in the sense of plenty of wealth); you must earn the money —you must have a commodity (and your labor may be that commodity in the way explained) to give in exchange for it before you can get it.

From the Montreal *Witness*, as quoted by a foreign Review, Mr. Boucher gives some extracts; and to show what the effects of resumption are likely to be, I cannot do better than ask you to follow his citations:

In 1822 there was £10,000,000 of specie in the Bank of England. In 1826, £2,000,000; then there was a national crisis. The elder Sir Robert Peel said, had it not been for an accidental discovery of £1,000,000 of *notes* which had not been canceled, the country would in one hour have been reduced to barter, resulting from making *bank notes* payable in gold on demand, etc. Several crises, more or less severe, have occurred in England since, from the same cause; but in that of 1857, the government made the bank notes legal tender, and absolutely for a time did away with all gold money for the internal trade, when business at once revived. If so absolute a remedy could so suddenly cure the evils from the gold, or false currency, why not perpetuate it? In 1857 Canada had a crisis. The banks had only about $1,000,000 of money left; incalculable ruin resulted. France had a crisis in 1847, and by making its bank notes legal tender, it furnished a currency for internal industry, and it stalked on to prosperity. The scarcity of money caused the crisis, and then thousands of our business men fled from our moneyless country, to obtain food and raiment in a foreign land, and thousands upon thousands of our laboring classes followed them to the United States. We had a crisis in 1827, then in 1837, and then in 1847, which from its severity caused an intense desire in many minds for annexation to the United States, and every other shop in Montreal was begging for a tenant; then one in 1857 and 1858, severe and disastrous. Baron Rothschild once said before a committee of the British House of Commons; "Make money cheap, and you will have the com-

merce of the world; make it dear, and you will lose it." England had for internal trade none but paper money, which was legal tender, from 1797 to 1819. It saved the country from absolute ruin. With that paper money she carried on the most stupendous wars, and advanced rapidly in manufactures and agriculture. Then, Peel's bill, making gold the only legal tender, in 1821, caused the Irish to starve, though there was plenty of food in England. Here was stagnation in trade, death of trade, and death to the population, for want of currency. It was no better in England in 1826, when, for want of currency, thousands of people had to be furnished with soldiers' cast off clothing. By having only a foreign currency, the cheap money of another nation ruins us."

* * * * * * * *

The *Review* says: "The effect of that bill which compelled the bank, after twenty-two years' suspension, to pay its bills in gold, is thus stated by the London *Times*: 'This measure has doubled the value of money, for it has made the sovereign worth two sovereigns.'"

Blackwood's Magazine for September, 1850, in a review of the life of the younger Peel, says: "A comparison of the prices of grain for twenty years before, and twenty years after the change to gold payments, leaves no doubt that, combined with free trade, it has now lowered prices, on an average of years, a half; in other words, doubled the weight of debt and halved the remuneration of industry, on an average of years, over the whole country. It has rendered the public debt of £800,000,000 in reality £1,600,000,000. It has swelled the thousand millions of private debt into two thousand millions. It has rendered our taxation of fifty millions annually, equal to one hundred millions at the old prices. In a country engaged in such extensive undertakings, and so dependent on that most sensitive of created things, credit, for its support, as Great Britain, it may be doubted whether human ingenuity could have devised anything so well calculated to spread ruin and desolation so generally through the people as this fatal step. Its effects in doubling the weight of debt, public and private, and halving, when taken into consideration with free trade, the remuneration of industry, at least to rural laborers, great and serious as it has been, has proved the least of the many evils that are distinctly traceable to it. By lowering prices in every department, over the whole country, it rendered the indirect taxes unproductive, and induced that constant clamor, on the part of persons engaged in particular trades, to get the taxes removed which pressed on them, which has involved the nation ever since in financial difficulties, extinguished the sinking fund, which, had it been left alone, would have paid off the whole public debt by the year 1845, and by the admission of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has added £27,000,000 to the national debt, over and above all in that time paid off during the last twenty years of unbroken peace. It has spread embarrassment and bankruptcy so far through the land that two-thirds of our landed proprietors are notoriously insolvent: and the nation, when blessed with a fine harvest, has come to import from a fourth to a fifth of its annual subsistence from foreign states, although fifteen years ago it was self-supporting; it has reduced the price of food a half, but it has lowered the wages of labor in a still greater degree, by reason of the numerous bankruptcies among the employers, and the diminished work for the employed. It has induced that terrible instability in mercantile transactions, and those ruinous monetary crises which have now become of periodic occurrence, though unknown before the resumption of gold payments, and which never occur without destroying from a third to a half of the whole commercial capital in the empire. It engendered that overwhelming influence of the moneyed aristocracy, and general suffering of the industrial classes, which inspired the money power with that restless desire of change, which never fails to accompany long-continued and general suffering. By vesting power in the moneyed and mercantile classes, through the Reform Act, it brought on the series of class legislative measures which have gone so far to endanger our colonial empire and destroy the national independence of Great Britain. All the evils under which we now labor may, by a demonstrable series of causes and effects, be traced back to that one fatal deviation from Mr. Pitt's protection policy (through paper currency or cheap money), under which the nation had so marvelously prospered during the war. No lasting reliance can be placed on the gold, how great soever is its amount in the country, because it is liable to be drained away any day by a bad harvest, a war abroad, or the usual mutations of commerce. In the last thirty years the people have increased nearly by a half, their transactions have been tripled, and the money they can rely on keeping in the country has been halved.'

CONGRESS AND THE COINING POWER.

Editors of the Revolution:

As my reading of the constitution differs widely from that of John Maguire, Esq., whose opinions are quoted in "THE REVOLUTION" of the 19th ult., I hope you will spare a little space, in which, as a Hard Money Reformer, I may defend it.

Mr. Maguire says that Congress has enacted that four different substances may be used in making money, to wit: gold, silver, copper and nickel. May not a fifth substance be used? To which it may be replied: certainly, if it can be coined; for, although printed money was common in this and other countries at the time the constitution was enacted, that instrument demands for Congress only the power to "coin" money. In like manner, although Congress may use whatever metals it pleases to select, the constitution witholds from the states the power to make any substances save gold and silver a tender in payment for debts.

It may, therefore, be claimed that the constitution in Art. 1, Sec. 8, which declares that "Congress shall have power to coin money," defines the method by which money shall be made; and that in Art. 1, Sec. 10, which decrees that "no state shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment for debts," defines the substances of which such money shall be mainly composed. Furthermore, do not the words, in the same section, which forbid the states "to issue Bills of Credit," also forbid by implication the legal sanction of such issues by individuals in the United States.

Claiming, with Mr. Maguire, to be also a Labor Reformer, I base my hopes on the contraction, rather than on the expansion of the power of the Workingman's competitor. If bushels of wheat, or even boots by the billion, could be called into existence by the breath of Congress, I should have no objection to such exercise of power; but to issue its *orders* for wheat and boots is quite another matter. R. W. H.

THE MONEY MARKET

was easier at the close, call loans ranging from 6 to 7 per cent. The weekly bank statement is favorable as an indication of activity in legitimate business.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	Dec. 5.	Dec. 12.	Differences.
Loans,	$259,491,905	$263,360,144	Inc. $3,868,239
Specie,	17,644,264	19,140,788	Inc. 1,496,514
Circulation,	34,254,759	34,205,906	Dec. 48,853
Deposits,	189,843,817	189,337,415	Dec. 506,402
Legal-tenders,	59,492,476	54,015,865	Dec. 5,476,611

THE GOLD MARKET

was strong and firm throughout the greater part of the week, but dull and heavy at the close, the price declining to 135¼ to 135⅜.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing
Monday, Dec, 7,	135⅞	136¼	135⅝	136¼
Tuesday, 8,	136¼	136¼	136¼	135⅝
Wednesday, 9,	135⅛	135⅛	135⅜	135¾
Thursday, 10,	136⅛	136⅛	135¾	135⅞
Friday, 11,	136¾	136¼	135⅝	135⅝
Saturday, 12,	135¾	135¾	135⅛	135⅛

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was quiet and steady at the close, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills being quoted 109⅛ to 109⅝, and sight 110¼ to 110¾. Francs on Paris bankers, long 5.16⅞ to 16¼, and short 5.13⅜ to 5.13⅛.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was dull and heavy with a general decline in prices in most of the leading stocks.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 35¼ to 36; W., F. & Co., 25¼ to 26; American, 42 to 43; Adams, 48 to 49; U. States, 45¼ to 46; Merchants Union, 15¾ to 16¼; Quicksilver, 21 to 21⅛; Canton, 47 to 48; Pacific Mail, 113 to 113 ⅛; W. U. Tel., 36¼ to 37; N. Y. Central, 124¼ to 124⅜; Erie, 40¾ to 40⅞; do. preferred, 59 to 60; Hudson River, 125 to 125½; Reading, 96⅝ to 96¾; Wabash, 55 to 55⅛; Mil. & St., P. 62¾ to 62½; do. preferred, 81⅛ to 81¾; Fort Wayne, 109⅜ to 109⅝; Ohio & Miss., 29⅛ to 29¼; Mich. Central, 118 to 120; Mich. South, 85⅛ to 85⅜; Ill. Central, 144 to 145; Pittsburg, 82 to 82¼; Toledo, 101 to 101¼; Rock Island, 106 to 106¼; North West, 74¾ to 75; do. preferred, 76 to 76¼; B. W. Power, 14 to 15; B., H. & Erie, 23½ to 24; Mariposa, 5 to 7; do. preferred, 19½ to 20.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were more active at the close, though prices generally were lower.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 99⅛ to 99⅛; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 109⅛ to 109¾; United States sixes, coupon, 114⅛ to 114¼; United States five-twenties, registered, 106⅛ to 106¼; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 110⅛ to 110¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 107 to 107⅛; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 107¾ to 108; United States five-twenties, coupon, new, 1865, 110 to 110⅛; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, 110 to 110⅛; United States five-twenties coupon, 1868, 110⅛ to 110⅝; United States ten-forties, registered, 103¼ to 103⅛; United States ten-forties, coupon, 105⅛ to 105⅛.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were $1,490,000 in gold against $1,631,000 $1,739,000 and $1,844,000 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were $3,006,500 in gold against $4,889,237, $5,320,493, and $3,657,355 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were $4,020,901 in currency against $4,269,207, $3,261,984, and $3,775,896 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were $483,320 against $230,432, $642,105 and $22,100 for the preceding week.

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